



## REPORT

OF THE

SELECT COMMITTEE

ON THE

CAUSES OF THE DIFFICULTIES

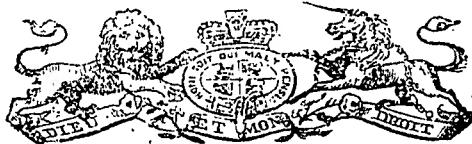
IN THE

NORTH-WEST TERRITORY

IN

1869-70.

PRINTED BY ORDER OF PARLIAMENT.



OTTAWA:

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1874.

## ORDER OF REFERENCE.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Wednesday, 1st April, 1874.

*Resolved*, That a Select Committee, composed of

Mr. SMITH, (Selkirk),

Hon. Mr. CAMERON, (Cardwell),

Mr. BOWEN,

Mr. ABBOTT,

Hon. Mr. BLAKE,

Mr. MOSS,

Mr. GEOFFRION,

Mr. MASSON,

Mr. JONES, (Halifax),

into the causes of the difficulties which existed in the North  
and, into those which have retarded the granting of the  
Proclamation issued by the late Governor General of  
and, further, to enquire whether, and to what extent, other  
since made; with power to send for persons, papers and

Attest.

ALFRED PATRICK,

Clerk of the House.

Monday, 11th May, 1874.

leave to report from time to time.

Attest.

ALFRED PATRICK,

Clerk of the House.

## REPORT.

The Select Committee of the House of Commons appointed to enquire into the causes of the difficulties in the North-West in 1869 and 1870, beg leave to report :—

That they have held thirty-seven sittings, and examined twenty-one witnesses, and they have been engaged diligently in prosecuting the enquiry since the reference was made to them.

That they have, as far as possible, taken the evidence separately under the three several heads of reference, viz. : First—the causes of the difficulties which existed in the North-West in 1869 and 1870. Secondly—the causes which retarded the granting of the amnesty, announced in the Proclamation of the Governor General of Canada, Sir John Young, now Lord Lisgar; and thirdly—also whether and to what extent other promises of Amnesty have ever been made.

That in conformity with their understanding of the meaning of the first head of the reference, they have endeavoured to limit the evidence taken under this head to the circumstances which occurred, or to the condition which existed, prior to the organized resistance to the entry of the Hon. William McDougall into the Territory, conceiving that at this point the difficulties themselves, into the history of which they are not authorized to enquire, had begun.

That they have examined several witnesses, and have received many important documents on this head as well as on the other heads referred to, and although they have thereby obtained much valuable information they have been unable to complete the evidence, as several important witnesses are absent in Europe and the North-west, and could not be brought before the Committee.

The Committee have also received evidence on the third head of the enquiry which, without being strictly applicable, seemed to bear upon the question whether any implied obligation to grant an amnesty had arisen from circumstances which did not constitute a direct promise of an amnesty.

The Committee report the evidence they have received both from the witnesses examined, and documents produced before them, and they leave it to the House to consider whether under the circumstances stated, any other steps shall be taken or whether the proceedings of the Committee shall terminate by this Report, and the evidence submitted herewith.

All which is respectfully submitted.

F. GEOFFRION,  
Chairman.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,  
22nd May, 1874.



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## ERRATA.

- Page 59, On third line from bottom, for "Jas. Dubuc," read "Jos. Dubuc."  
 " 61, In date of letter No. 39, for "1874," read "1873."  
 " 65, In letter No. 49, "Father Lascomb," read "Father Lacombe."  
 " 105, No. 125, in date of second extract, for "23rd February," read "22nd February."  
 " 110, Report of Privy Council, dated June 4th, 1873, should be numbered 130.  
 " 155, In 10th line from bottom, for "1874," read "1872."

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## NORTH-WEST COMMITTEE EVIDENCE.

COMMITTEE ROOM,

10th April, 1874.

JOHN H. MCTAVISH examined :

Witness said his name was John Henry McTavish, and that he was a Factor in the Hudson's Bay Company; he had been seventeen years at Fort Garry, and was there during 1869 and 1870. Was well acquainted with the inhabitants of Fort Garry and the surrounding country. The population consisted of English; English half-breeds and French half-breeds. The two former were probably equal to the latter. The relations between them up to that time were of a friendly character. The Canadian party was a very small one, and resided principally in Winnipeg and the Portage. There was no feeling of animosity between the Hudson's Bay Company and the inhabitants. There was a feeling of uneasiness on the part of all as to what was proposed to be done with regard to the transfer of the country, the first symptoms of which discontent occurred in the autumn, when the facts of the proposed transfer became known. In the same summer there was a public meeting, called by Mr. William Dease, which was, however, but poorly attended. At that meeting Mr. Dease spoke against the Government of the Council of Assiniboia, but did not prove any very great cause of complaint or ill-feeling against said Government. There was no ill-feeling against Canada at that time. When the appointment of Governor McDougall was heard of, the feeling of uneasiness began to take a very marked form, and a determination to resist his entry into the country was expressed at meetings held amongst themselves.

Some surveys which were made at that time were also displeasing to the French half-breeds, through whose lands said surveys were made. These surveys were first made at Oak Point. These surveys, followed up by the appointment of Governor McDougall, caused great discontent. The discontent of the half-breeds arose from the fact of their lands being measured by the surveyors, without explanation being made as to the object; which lands were being cultivated by the French half-breeds. Very little was known as to the different steps of the rising until it actually broke out in the form of a congregation of people, determined to oppose the entry of the Governor, which meeting took place nine miles from Fort Garry. Witness was in constant communication with the inhabitants in a business way, and knew that dissatisfaction arose from the transfer being made without their being consulted. The dissatisfaction of the English half-breeds with regard to the matter did not take any definite form, and witness was not aware that they held any meetings on the subject. He thought that the dissatisfaction arose

1st. From the surveys.

2ndly. From the appointment of a Lieutenant Governor.

3rdly. From the fact of the transfer being made without their being taken into account.

The English also felt that the surveys were improper, but the feeling was only openly manifested by the French half-breeds. Witness had no knowledge of there being any meetings held before that time, at which both French and English half-breeds took part on that particular subject. A large tract of land at Oak Point, claimed by the French half-breeds was surveyed by Government employes, and believed by the French half-breeds to be meant for their own use. Those lands were subsequently settled on, and farmed by the half-breeds themselves. The impression that the half-breeds would be shoved aside by Canada, in order to give place to the Canadians, was not generally believed. About the end of November the English and French half-breeds sent delegates to a convention, and at that convention a bill of rights was drawn up and agreed to, setting



forth the conditions upon which Mr. McDougall would be allowed to enter the country. This bill of rights was to be submitted to Mr. McDougall himself, and he was expected to answer it. The people at the convention were the representatives of the whole population, both French and English. None of the English, however, were found willing to join the French delegates in conveying the Bill of Rights to Mr. McDougall. After the framing of said bill of rights, it was the general desire of the whole population that nothing further should be done until receiving Mr. McDougall's reply. The bill of rights was really never sent at all. The English and the French acted independently of each other after the convention.

The ostensible reason for the continuance of the original rising was the fact of Mr. McDougall remaining at Pembina, that indicating a persistence to take possession of the territory without the consent of the inhabitants. This greatly intensified the feeling of the people. The Council of Assiniboia took every means in their power to quiet the movement. Only two officers of the Hudson's Bay Company were on the said Council, which had a total of between fourteen and fifteen members. On this Council there were, among others, the Bishop of Rupert's Land, Archbishop Taché, and Messrs. Bannatyne, Fraser, Macbeth, Tait and Sutherland. These gentlemen were in no way connected with the Hudson's Bay Company.

Governor McTavish, Governor of the Council of Assiniboia, and Acting Governor of the Hudson's Bay Company, in order to dissuade the people from a rising, issued a proclamation early in November. The Council of Assiniboia also sent for the leaders of the people. Messrs. Bruce and Riel endeavoured to explain the situation to them, and remonstrated with them on their conduct.

Mr. William Dease was considered to be one of the leaders among the French party.

(Signed,) J. H. McTAVISH.

COMMITTEE ROOM,

April 15th, 1874.

The Honorable H. L. LANGEVIN being called before the Committee, stated as follows:—

(A.)

*As to First Branch of Enquiry in the Order of Reference.*

I was a member of the Canadian Ministry up to November, 1873. I was Minister of Public Works for four years. I know nothing personally of the causes that led to the troubles in the North-West, as I was never there myself, but my belief is that there were different causes, viz.: One was the long rule of the Hudson's Bay Company, which, in my opinion, was unfavorable to the colonization of the country, and therefore not liked by the people of the North-West.

Another cause was, I believe, the inactivity of the Hudson's Bay Company's authorities, when the excitement began among the half-breeds. I believe that, if at that period the Company's authority had shown itself even by closing the gates of Fort Garry, these troubles would have been put a stop to.

Another cause, I believe, is the want of tact, and in certain cases the fanaticism of certain Government employes who, instead of shewing to the half-breeds that they were sent not to disturb them in the possession of their lands, went to work as if their ideas had been to deprive these people of their possessions.

Another cause of the trouble, I have no doubt, was the proclamation issued by the Honorable William McDougall, without authority, and before he took the path as Lieutenant Governor of the Province.

As far as I can recollect, I think there was a communication upon the outbreak between the Government and Governor McTavish, with reference to the surveyors. I think it was in writing. I do not remember seeing the Governor here at Ottawa at that time. I do not remember any personal communication with him at the instance of the Colonial Office. Difficulties had arisen before the issuing of the proclamation. Some of the half-breeds were in arms.

## (B.)

*As to Second Branch of Enquiry in the Order of Reference.*

The Proclamation of Amnesty, dated December 6th, 1869, was issued long before the death of Thomas Scott, and when so issued, it certainly did not contemplate anything else than the illegal acts that had been committed up to the time of its issue.

The causes that have delayed the granting of an amnesty in accordance with that proclamation were,

1st: That circumstances were altogether changed when the death of Thomas Scott occurred. 2nd: That the granting of the amnesty in accordance with that proclamation, not pardoning the parties who might have been instrumental in causing the death of Scott, would not have satisfied the people who clamoured for an amnesty, and therefore would have been found useless in so far as the peace of the country and contentment of the people were concerned.

By the illegal acts above referred to, I mean the illegal possession of property, real or personal; also any violation of private rights up to that time. I think that the insurgents had, at the date of the proclamation, taken possession of Fort Garry.

I think that the proclamation was intended to cover all acts similar to those which, we understood, had been committed up to the time that the terms of the proclamation would be made known to the people of the country.

If at that period an organization of a Provisional Government had taken place, the proclamation was undoubtedly intended to cover that. I think we must have known that there was an organization of some kind.

The immediate and peaceable dispersion referred to in the proclamation did not take place. I do not think that the fact of non-compliance with this term was one of the causes influencing the want of any further action on the proclamation.

I do not know whether the proclamation was issued before or after the death of Parisien or Sutherland. It was not known to the Government when Bishop Taché left Ottawa for the North-West, whether the people had availed themselves of the offer to lay down their arms. They knew at that time that there was still an armed organization. I think, but am not sure, that they then knew it by the name of Provisional Government

## (C.)

*Third Branch.*

I am not aware of any promise of amnesty having been made by the Government of Canada further than that contained in the proclamation of 6th December, 1869, or of any promise by any member of the Government on behalf of the Government.

At the commencement of the meeting of Parliament in October last I had two interviews with a large number of the supporters of the Government from the Province of Quebec about the amnesty in connection with the troubles in the North-West territory. After exchanging our views and discussing the matter, I said to the gentlemen present, that if the amnesty was not granted within a reasonable time after the session of Parliament I would resign my seat as a member of the Government, and that my colleague, Hon. Mr. Robitaille, was ready to do, and would do the same. The reason why I thought I could take that course was that I had always thought that in order to give peace and content to the North-West a full amnesty would be required; that a full amnesty could not have been obtained as long as the excitement about the death of Thomas Scott was kept up; and that, in order to allay the feeling, and do all I could under the circumstances, I had induced one or two of the most influential friends of the present member for Provencher, to use their influence with him to prevent his coming to Ottawa and taking his seat.

I knew further, from His Grace Archbishop Taché, that he intended to work in the same direction as he had done all along, by preparing a memorial or petition to Her Majesty, giving all the reasons why a full amnesty should be granted, and that His Grace expected His Excellency the Governor General, as the representative of the Queen in

this country, to transmit that document and have it laid at the foot of the throne with such remarks as His Excellency would think proper.

I knew also that Sir John A. Macdonald, the first Minister, intended to go to England after the Session, and that he intended to represent to the Imperial authorities that this North-West question was an Imperial one which was causing trouble and disquietude in a portion of the Dominion; and that certainly the best interests of the Empire required that the Imperial Government should take up the matter, knowing as much, I thought that the Imperial Government having received the documents and representations above mentioned would certainly feel it their duty to act in the matter, and therefore the question would come to an early solution. Of course, I knew full well there were obstacles, and great obstacles, connected with the granting of that amnesty; but so convinced was I that the best interests of Canada required that this matter should be settled without delay, that although a full amnesty might not be granted at the time I mentioned. I was determined, as was also my colleague, Mr Robitaille, that by handing in our resignations we could bring about a decision. I knew full well that the representatives of the Province of Quebec were all of the same mind upon that matter. I had not at any time, nor, as far as I am aware, had any of my colleagues, made any promise of an amnesty to Archbishop Taché, Father Ritchot, or any other party. I do not know of anything of the kind, and this statement covers the whole ground since the 6th December, 1869. In every conversation I had with Archbishop Taché he always stated to me that Sir George Cartier and Sir John Macdonald, when they received, on behalf of the Canadian Government, the delegates from the people of the North-West, had promised an amnesty, but on enquiry of my colleagues, Sir George Cartier and Sir John Macdonald, I must say that they always told me that no such promise was made. Archbishop Taché continued to repeat the assertion I have referred to on many occasions after I had asked my colleagues, and they had told me that no such promise was made, and I see that Archbishop Taché renews the statement in a memorandum that has just been published, and gives documents from which he draws that inference.

I was aware from personal communication with Sir John A. Macdonald that he was about to visit England after the close of the Session, and intended to make the representations before mentioned. I became aware of this some weeks before the Session, but I cannot fix the date. It was during the summer. His health was not good, and he thought of going on that account apart from other considerations. If it had not been for the Fall meeting of Parliament I have no doubt he would have gone sooner, but of course Parliament meeting he had to remain. I suppose the subject of his intended visit to England and his making these representations came up in two or three conversations between him and me. I think I had a conversation with him at the period mentioned by me just now of the meeting with my friends. I saw him then a second time in order to ascertain whether I was right in regard to what I have just stated.

This was before I made the statement to my supporters and the interview took place with the view of my making that statement, and in order that I might be quite correct in what I understood to be Sir John A. Macdonald's intentions, and might make the statements upon that basis. He was aware that I was going to meet my friends. No particular time was then named as to the probable period of his visit to England. It was to take place a short time after the Session, not immediately, because after every Session of course the members of the Government have to look after the business arising out of the Session. It was understood that he would go as soon as possible, because his health was very bad at the time. He only stated the nature of the representations he proposed making to the Imperial Government to the extent which I have indicated, that is: That it was a matter with which we had nothing to do as a Government as it had occurred previous to the country coming into our hands; and that therefore it was a matter that should be dealt with by the Imperial authorities and not by us. I was aware that communications had taken place between the Canadian Government and the Imperial Government upon this point. For example, I was aware of that telegram which was sent by the Imperial to the Canadian Government prior to the proclamation. In fact, I

was aware of every communication that took place. I do not think any answer was given to a reply of the Imperial Government to a communication from the Canadian Government upon the subject of a memorial of the Legislature of Manitoba with reference to this amnesty. I think the answer from England was to the effect that the amnesty, with certain reservations, might be given on a certain advice being given elsewhere. There was no action taken on that, for the reason that we always contended that we had nothing to do as a Government here with the question of amnesty; that it was a question for them there, and that therefore we had not to deal with it. On the other hand, the fact that in our opinion only a partial amnesty would not meet the claim that was made, convinced us that it was useless for us to take any action or entertain any proposal of that kind. I do not think that an understanding was arrived at that this correspondence should not be carried on in writing, but that the subject should be further discussed on Sir John A. Macdonald's intended visit. I do not think there was any connection between that visit and the other matter. We determined to abandon any further negotiation with the Imperial Government, at all events for the present.

I believe I stated to those members of Parliament whom I met as I have already mentioned, the fact that Sir John Macdonald would go to England shortly, and that the question would be brought up in England by him. I believe I stated that he would leave for England shortly after the Session. Sir John knew perfectly well that I was to make that statement. I wanted to show to my friends that I had reasons for making that statement to them, and that I was acting in good faith towards them and the cause which we were advocating, and so I said, "My portfolio is there, with that of my colleague, Mr. Robitaille."

I was authorized by Sir John Macdonald to tell my friends what I did about his intended visit to England. I believe I did learn that at the time of the delegation from the people of the North-West, or the interview with Archbishop Taché, there was some discussion of the extension of the amnesty. As far as I can recollect, Sir George Cartier and Sir John Macdonald told me, and I have no doubt others of our colleagues, that the question of amnesty had come up, and that the answer from them was that it was a matter with which we had nothing to do as a Government, inasmuch as the illegal acts for which the amnesty was required had been committed previous to Canada assuming, or being on the eve of assuming, the government of the country. This question came up with the delegates, Father Ritchot, Mr. Black and Mr. Scott. If I am not mistaken, the question of amnesty was one of the points which the delegates submitted to my two colleagues, Sir John and Sir George, and they discussed it among themselves. I am not sure that the discussion took place with Sir John Macdonald finally, but I am sure that it did with Sir George Cartier. I cannot now remember whether or not Sir John Macdonald stated to me that this had been matter of discussion with the delegates, but Sir George Cartier did state so. Sir George and Sir John were jointly authorized to act for the Government, but Sir John Macdonald became very ill about that time, and I cannot remember whether the discussion took place previously to his illness or not. I am able to state positively with regard to Sir George Cartier, that his answer was that there was no power in the Government to grant the amnesty, that it was an Imperial matter solely, in consequence of the state of the title to the territory at that time. Sir George Cartier did not communicate to me whether or not he had made any representation as to what in his opinion would be the policy of the Imperial Government on the subject. I do not think he informed me that he had made any communication that the good offices of the Government, or any member of the Government, unofficially or otherwise, would be used with the Imperial Government in that direction. I think from statements he made to me afterwards, that he told the delegates that this matter, being of course an Imperial matter, he had no doubt that they would take up the subject in England, and that he was warranted in saying so by the fact of the anxiety which the Imperial Government had shown to bring about a settlement of the difficulties in the North-West Territory. I do not remember that any communication was ever made to me that any promise or statement had been made to the effect that the good offices or in-

fluence, or representations of the Government, or any member of the Government, would be used with the Imperial Government in that direction. Sir George Cartier and Sir John Macdonald had, I believe, repeated conversations, as they informed me, with Archbishop Taché, on the subject of the amnesty before he left for Red River on his mission. At that time the death of Scott had not occurred. It occurred, I think, only the day, or the second day before the Archbishop reached Fort Garry.

The conversations about amnesty, so far as I can recollect—I was not present of course—were only to the effect that the proclamation of 6th December, 1869, would be still held in force. Sir George Cartier did not tell me whether or not he had authorized the Archbishop to make any representation to the people of the territory, or to anybody up there upon the subject of that proclamation, or the promises contained therein. What I understood from Sir George was, that he was inducing Archbishop Taché to undertake the task of going to the North-West, and doing his best to get the people to understand that the dispositions of the Canadian Government and Canadian people towards them were most friendly, and that he stated to him that he should have this proclamation circulated amongst the people on his arrival, and should endeavor to induce them to comply with its terms.

The conversation I had with Sir John Macdonald on this topic were to the same effect. He indicated to me that he had used to the Archbishop expressions in the same sense.

Archbishop Taché came to Ottawa after that repeatedly—once, twice, or three times, I think—and I know they had conversations with him; but the whole thing came always to this point, that he was pressing very hard to have an amnesty given to the people there, because he saw they were troubled, and he thought an amnesty would bring peace to that country; and, on the other hand, my colleagues, as well as myself, would answer him that we could not interfere as a Government as it was an Imperial matter, and so on, in the sense I have before mentioned. This was after he had been in the North-West.

No statement was made that, though the Government as a government could not interfere, what they could do would be done to obtain the favorable consideration of the Imperial Government. What Sir John or Sir George may have stated I cannot say; but I urged upon the Archbishop the propriety and necessity of his preparing the memorial I spoke of just now. I was most pressing with him previous to the meeting of Parliament in October last to do that, in order that his memorial might be transmitted to England by the Governor, with whom I understood from the Archbishop he had had a conversation, and therefore I thought it was important for the success of his endeavors to have that memorial, in which the case, as he wanted to lay it down, might be brought before the notice of the Imperial Government. I am aware of conferences which took place with Father Ritchot at different periods upon this topic. As far as he was concerned these conferences were in the same sense as those which the Archbishop, pressing again and again for the amnesty. I may say that I was present at an interview that he had with the Governor General on the matter, but as I was there in my capacity as a Minister of the Crown, I must respectfully decline to give any information in reference to it.

*Mr. Blake.*—I ask you what took place between Father Ritchot and the Governor General in your presence?

*Mr. Langevin.*—I conceive myself not to be in a position to answer that question, as I was there in the capacity of a Minister, and asked by the Governor to be there in that capacity. In my conversations with Father Ritchot I always tried to impress upon him the necessity of preventing any new difficulty, and of allaying the excitement, because by the people, or a portion of the people, agitating or taking up the question by themselves, I was of opinion that the solution of the difficulty would be still further delayed. I stated to him, as I stated to Archbishop Taché, that the question was one beyond the control of the Canadian Government, but that I was surprised that the people did not sign petitions to the Queen, showing that they were firm in their desires to see the parties implicated in the troubles of 1869-70 pardoned; that I thought these petitions would do more to call the attention of the Imperial authorities to this matter, and bring about a solution of the

difficulty than any other mode which could be employed. Father Ritchot stated, as far as I can recollect now, that representations had already been made on the subject, but that the people were becoming impatient, and that the position of the parties supposed to be implicated in the death of Thomas Scott, had become intolerable; that these parties were constantly in fear of losing their lives, and that therefore the peace of the country required an immediate solution of the question. I represented repeatedly to Father Ritchot the difficulty of joint action of the members of the Government in a matter of this kind, which joint action he wished repeatedly to obtain. I showed him that there was a certain public opinion on this matter in a certain portion or in certain portions of the Dominion, while, on the contrary, the public opinion on the same subject in other portions of the Dominion was totally different; that, therefore, he must see the difficulty of joint action in a matter of that kind, and that time alone would, in my opinion, bring about a solution in the same way as had been the case in connection with the troubles or insurrection of 1837 and 1838, a few years after which a amnesty was obtained on the petition of the Parliament of the Province of Canada, which would have been impossible one or two or three years immediately after those troubles. I told him these North-West difficulties were such as to render joint action impossible at that time, and that it was in consequence of these divergences of public opinion that the Government could not act as a Government at that time. He could not have understood, however, that I meant by that that there would be action on the part of a portion of the Ministry. I expressly explained to him that it was impossible that he could have the good offices of the Government, or any member of the Government, in promoting the amnesty at that time. I consequently told him, as I stated to the Archbishop, that I advised that Riel should not take his seat in Parliament or come to Ottawa, because his coming here and taking his seat would certainly excite the people again. I cannot say what the nature of Sir George Cartier's replies to Father Ritchot were, because he had repeated conversations with him; but I was present at one or two interviews between Sir John Macdonald and Father Ritchot, more to interpret between Sir John and Father Ritchot; the latter not understanding English well, and the purport of those conversations was to the same effect as those I have just now detailed,—that, as a Government, we could not interfere, and that time was a great master in matters of that kind. I cannot remember anything being said in that conversation in reference to the intended visit of any member of the Government being used in a way in which the Government, as a Government, could not interfere. It was in one of these conversations that I advised that Riel should not take his seat after he had been elected for Provencher. I never saw Riel, and never spoke to him. My advice was given to Archbishop Taché and some others of his friends. I do not think I was present when any other of my colleagues discussed that subject with the Archbishop or any of Riel's friends. None of my colleagues intimated to me that they had had any communication with anybody upon this subject beyond what I have stated. I do not know whether any of my colleagues did anything to prevent Riel taking his seat. I know that I did all I could in that direction. I was not aware of any negotiations in reference to Riel leaving the North-West. I never heard of any such negotiations. I have not been in Manitoba at all. I never heard any discussion upon that subject. I never had any communication with the delegates myself at the period of the delegation. I am not aware that the memorial, of which I suggested the preparation, was sent at all. The memorial I spoke of just now as coming from Archbishop Taché was one which it was intended he should prepare last autumn. I am not aware whether he prepared and sent it or not. I had no discussion nor any knowledge derived from my colleagues that they had any discussion with these people or any others as to the action to be taken on the address from the Legislature of Manitoba. I do not remember the date of departure of Archbishop Taché for the North-West from Ottawa or from the Province of Ontario or Quebec. I cannot say whether or not the Government were aware, after Archbishop Taché's leaving Montreal, and before his reaching Fort Garry, that there was a number of people held there as prisoners, and that one of them had been condemned to death. I am disposed to give you all the information I have, but

I cannot carry these dates of five or six years ago in my head. I do not think we knew that Bolton had been condemned to die at the time Archbishop Taché left here, or after he left here, while we had an opportunity of communicating with him before he reached Fort Garry.

(Signed,)

HECTOR L. LANGEVIN.

COMMITTEE ROOM,

THURSDAY, April 16th, 1874.

*By Mr. Geoffrion :—*

I had no knowledge of any memorial or document upon the subject of the death of Scott, nor as to the amnesty signed by Sir George Cartier and handed to the Governor General, and by him transmitted to the Imperial authorities.

(Signed,)

HECTOR L. LANGEVIN.

COMMITTEE ROOM,

17th April, 1874.

The Right Reverend ALEXANDER TACHÉ, Archbishop of St. Boniface, in the Province of Manitoba, &c., deposed as follows :—

I have some information with regard to the causes which gave rise to the troubles in the North-West. Some of them are more or less remote, and some more directly within my knowledge. Among the more remote causes, I will state the formation, in former days, of a party in the Province of Assiniboia which took the title of the "Canadian" party. This "Canadian" party at first met with the sympathy of the natives of the country, because at one time all the population were desirous of being united with Canada. This party subsequently caused a certain amount of ill-feeling amongst the population from its resistance to the laws. Amongst this party were those who broke into the prisons and subsequently threatened the half-breeds with expulsion from the country. The number of this party was perhaps ten Canadians and a few half-breeds who joined with them. The first jail-breaking was on 20th April, 1863, and the next on 21st April following. The third was in 1867 or 1868. Subsequent to these disturbances, the population began to entertain fears with regard to their union with Canada. This was some four or five years before 1869. It came on gradually. In a few words, this is what I know of the remote cause of the trouble.

This more remote cause was followed by one which was more direct, and this may be said to have commenced with the arrival of the first surveyor who came into the colony of Assiniboia. It was in the autumn of 1868. In the country at that time universal distress prevailed. A surveyor arrived, who stated he was going to carry on works in the name of the Canadian Government, and that the workmen would be paid with Canadian money. The works were commenced, but, to the great surprise of the inhabitants, some action was taken by the surveyor which gave rise to considerable suspicion. In the first instance the price that was paid for their labor gave rise to great discontent. Not only was the remuneration small, but the people were compelled to take out their pay in goods, which goods they were required to buy from a shop to which the laborers were not desirous of resorting. However, distress being universal, the population were compelled to submit to these conditions. In the course of the winter discontent was increased, because it was reported that the surveyor and his employees had entered into treaties with the Indians for the purchase of the lands partly belonging to the half-breeds. In fact, a treaty was concluded with the Indians. Certain lands were surveyed by this employee of the Government. It was even reported that the Indians had been made intoxicated in order that the lands might be the more easily obtained from them. Not only was this statement generally reported, but the surveyor was brought before the courts and was convicted of having sold intoxicating liquors to the Indians contrary to law. Mr. Snow was the name of the surveyor. I have omitted one other circumstance which was incident to what I have already stated, and which contributed in a considerable degree to the discontent. It is, that a person who accompanied Mr. Snow—I do not know in what

capacity—carried on a correspondence with the newspapers of Ontario, in which correspondence he insulted the whole population of the Province, both French and English, especially the half-breeds. Although I do not know in what capacity this person was employed, I know he was an employé of the Government. The discontent caused by the purchase of the lands from the Indians was so great that the population rose against the proceeding and against the people at Point du Chêne. The inhabitants of Point du Chêne went to Mr. Snow, and the person who was with him, and compelled them to leave the locality. Mr. Snow's companion then came to my house to see me, and to ask me to interfere. He also stated that he had requested the half-breeds of Point du Chêne to come with him to me, and that they refused to do so, saying "We know very well that His Lordship will prevail upon us to keep quiet, and yet we are so sure we are right that we will neither refuse his Lordship nor desist from the course which we have taken." Some days later Mr. Snow was convicted by the courts, and some days after this condemnation he entered into negotiations with the half-breeds of Point du Chêne, and went with them to the Governor, Mr. McTavish. After explanations and assurances on his part that he would confine himself to going on with his work, the half-breeds stated to him, "If you content yourself with doing the work ordered by the Government, not only will we not interfere with you any more, but will protect you against any one else who may wish to interfere with you." And so they did, in the ensuing season, when Mr. Snow nearly lost his life in consequence of the discontent of some of his men.

This is, I consider, a short statement of the second cause which led to the difficulties.

The third cause has relation to the action of the Canadian Government itself. When news was received that negotiations had taken place between the Canadian Government and the authorities in England on the subject of the acquisition of the Territory, without any attempt at consulting the population of the Province, who considered themselves civilized and who were civilized, great discontent arose not only because they were not consulted, but because they were not even mentioned in the negotiations. So far as I could ascertain this discontent was universal; and further I am of opinion that some of those who afterwards took a different position were those who were at first the most discontented. The discontent increased when, on the return to Ottawa of the delegates to England from the Canadian Government, it was understood that an Act had been passed by the three branches of the Canadian Legislature for the Provisional Government of the Territory. So great was the discontent that it at this period manifested itself at several points, that I considered it right to leave the territory and come to Canada to inform the authorities of the position of affairs and the discontent which existed. I endeavoured to cause it to be understood that serious trouble would arise, but I did not succeed. I received, here in Canada, about the commencement of the month of October, 1869, a letter from the Governor of the Territory, Mr. McTavish, in which he stated to me the increase which was going on in the discontent, and also enumerated the causes which gave rise to it. That letter was communicated to the Canadian Government. It is private in part, but the rest of it I am willing to lay before the Committee. I may observe that I did not communicate the letter officially to the Government. I showed it to one member of the Government, and a copy was sent to another member of the Government. I showed it myself to the Honorable Mr. Langevin; and the Honorable Sir George Cartier having met me in such a way that I could no longer speak to him on the subject, a mutual friend took him a copy of the letter, which is as follows:—

(No. 1.)

"FORT GARRY, 4th September, 1869.

"MY LORD,—I notice your success in Lower Canada (Province of Quebec I believe I should call it) in collecting for the Relief Committee here, but I believe my respected countryman, the Honorable John S. Macdonald, has been too tough a subject. No account yet of the \$5,000 voted by the Ontario Government. The honorable gentleman has not answered my letter at all, and I am told that some of the Upper Canadian papers advocate the retention of the grant, as they say it is not required by the R. R.



"settlers. I can tell them I think otherwise, as how to satisfy the claims against the Relief Committee has been a subject of some anxiety to me.

"I have had a more than ordinarily busy summer, with rather above the average of *contretemps* in the way of business. Besides this, you no doubt have heard that there has been, and is still, a good deal of agitation here. Unfortunately every Canadian official as he comes in falls into Dr. Schultz's hands, and evidently continues in good accord with him. Our friends, the Canadian half-breeds, shrewdly suspect that no good can come to them from such an alliance, and are in consequence rapidly becoming more decidedly opposed to Canada. If the Honorable Wm. McDougall, when he comes here, shows the same leaning, there will be trouble here; and in any case in the interest of your people, I will take the liberty to say that I think it would be of the utmost importance to them, as well as to all concerned, that you should be here when the new order of things is instituted.

"Your other duties may render this impossible, but, if so, it is much to be regretted, as taken in time you could control matters which afterwards it would not be so easy to manage. We had, as you well know, our times of excitement, but I have never seen the people here in the restless excited state they are now. None of them I have spoken with can give a clear account of what they wish, but very clearly show that they are suspicious that no good to them is intended. I have done my utmost to point out to them that it must be to the interest of Mr. McDougall or any other who may come as Governor, that his Government should be successful, and that success could not be obtained by injustice to a large section of the governed; that the apparent connexion between Schultz and the officials who have come, simply arose from the Doctor having been kind and accommodating, that in the performance of their duties that sort of thing would not have any effect on them, but I find it useless, their suspicions remain.

"Colonel Dennis, who has come in as surveyor, met Schultz on the way from St. Paul, or rather was overtaken by him. The Doctor offered the Colonel a seat in his waggon which Colonel Dennis anxious to escape from a heavily laden party, gladly accepted. Of course on arriving here the Doctor took him to his house, where he remained till his party arrived. In the mean time our friends at Oak Point sent Colonel Dennis a letter warning him not to come out here with Schultz, Hallet or Hall, as if he did they would turn him back. I believe Augustin Nolin was the author of the letter, mindful of the claim-taking and land-buying of last spring, thought it necessary. However, Colonel Dennis did not go, but some days ago his party went out with their horses, which were poor, and it is said, to employ their time, commenced marking out claims for themselves, on which the half-breeds ordered them off and they came in post haste. I was told to-day that a Major Wallace, who was in charge of the party which went out to Oak Point, has gone on to meet Mr. McDougall, who it is expected will be here on the 15th October; but I cannot say that it is positively the case Major Wallace has gone, much less, if he has, that his trip is connected with the check at Oak Point."

\* \* \* \* \*

"(Signed), W. McTAVISH."

"To the Lord Bishop of St. Boniface,  
Boucherville, Montreal, Canada."

I arrived in Canada in the middle of July. I do not remember the day exactly. I came at once to Ottawa, where I had the honor to meet Sir George Cartier. I then communicated to him the general apprehensions which I felt, and he said he knew it all a great deal better than I did, and did not want any information. I subsequently went to Quebec in the course of the month of September. I was at the Lieutenant Governor's at Quebec, in company with the Archbishop of Quebec. His Honour asked me some questions as to the position of the country. I gave the answers which my knowledge of the facts prompted me to give. His Honour said to me: "It is absolutely necessary the Government should be acquainted with these circumstances." I told him, that certainly was my opinion also, and that it was even the object of my journey, but that I had not succeeded in causing my fears or my ideas to be entertained. Then His Honour, the

Lieutenant Governor, said to me "Sir George Cartier is here in the house; it is absolutely necessary you should tell him this." He then sent for Sir George Cartier, and before him the Lieutenant Governor put to me the same questions he had put to me before. I gave the same reply I had given him, and I received the same answer from Sir George that I had received at Ottawa. At a subsequent period, I am not sure whether in the last days of September or the first days of October, I received the letter from Mr. McTavish, the Governor, which I have produced, and certain other private letters which I have not in my possession. I considered, in view of the facts, that it was my duty, in spite of the unpleasant reception with which I had met, to make further efforts to communicate the facts. As I was unable to address myself to Sir George Cartier, and knew no other member of the Government except Mr. Langevin and Mr. Chapais, whom I was unable to see, I made a journey to Quebec, where Mr. Langevin then was, with the hope that I might succeed better than with Sir George Cartier. Then it was that I showed my letter to Mr. Langevin in the beginning of October. This was the first time that I spoke to Mr. Langevin on any important matter. Mr. Langevin asked me if I could not return to Red River, I told him I was obliged to go to Rome to attend the Oecumenical Council, and further that as they had not thought proper to give me any answer with which to satisfy the people of Red River, I did not see that my presence at Red River would be productive of any good. Then Mr. Langevin asked me whether I would consent to return from Rome if it was found my services would be of advantage at Red River, and if the Government requested me to do so; I told him that I would. I then went to see Mr. Chauveau and Mr. Ouimet, with both of whom I was acquainted, I communicated to them the information of which I was possessed and begged of them, looking to the positions which they occupied, to impress upon the Government the necessity of taking some steps. At Montreal (I do not remember whether just before I started on this journey to Quebec, or immediately after I returned) I was in company with several friends to whom I was speaking of the dangers with which I considered the Red River country was threatened, and to whom I communicated also the letter of which I have spoken from Mr. McTavish, the Governor of the country. One of my friends then said "It is absolutely necessary that the Government should know all these things." I said "Yes, it is certainly so, but I cannot do more than I have done. If you have any other method which will be more successful in conveying this information to them, I am quite willing to adopt it." One of these gentlemen then requested permission from me to copy that letter, with the view of sending it to Sir George Cartier at Ottawa. I gave it to him, and he copied it, and two days afterwards told me he had received a reply from Sir George, and that the reply was "we know all about it and we have made provision respecting matters," and the next day the Ottawa papers announced that a certain number of rifles and a certain quantity of ammunition would be sent to Fort Garry with Mr. McDougall. The information I conveyed to Mr. Langevin and to Sir George Cartier was substantially what I have before conveyed to this Committee, and I expressed to these gentlemen my fear and apprehension that some trouble would arise in the country from the indicated causes and the discontent which had grown out of them. All this time, as a matter of course, the difficulties went on increasing at Red River, for the reason that the so-called Canadian party, of which I have spoken (as they thought the time was approaching when they should be pre-eminent), became more and more insulting. That party had in the meantime largely increased, gradually up to the time of my departure, and as I have since learned, rapidly during the summer of 1869. At the time of the jail-breaking in the spring of 1868, the number of the party would be not more than twenty or twenty-five to the best of my knowledge, apart from the few half-breeds who had identified themselves with them.

They did not hesitate to say that the half-breeds would soon be driven from the country, or kept as cart-drivers to bring in the vehicles of the new emigrants. About this time it was that the surveyors were stopped; and it was said, but I cannot state from my own observation, that they were stopped because they were surveying lands already occupied. As soon as the news was received that Hon. Mr. McDougall, with

arms and ammunition, was on his way, it is needless to say the excitement became still greater, and this the more so because there was a certain number of young Canadians there who stated (falsely, it is true, but still stated) that they were already enrolled, and would on the arrival of Mr. McDougall, take up arms and drive out the half-breeds. It was thought in the colony that all these young Canadians were cadets at the military school. Some of them even had their uniforms in their portmanteaus, and on one occasion it was reported that they were to appear at a meeting in their uniforms and commence a species of war against the half-breeds. I cannot say if it was a public meeting. I was not in the country at the time. I believe it was a public meeting. It was held in the month of October. Nearly all these young persons were employed by the surveyors. At this time, not only was Mr. Snow in the country, but there was a large number of other surveyors. A report was then circulated in the country, and subsequently proved to be true, that the surveyors had instructions to lay out for immediate settlement the best lands at Point du Chêne, and on the Red River and Stinking River. All these lands were known as the property of the half-breeds. It was then that the outbreaks commenced, and the half-breeds took up arms. This is a distinct history of the causes. I do not agree with Mr. Langevin in the expression he made use of in his evidence that the long rule of the Hudson's Bay Company had to do with the trouble. In proof of my view, I would adduce the following facts:—Some months before the commencement of the troubles, a petition was prepared by the so-called Canadian party subsequent to the case of jail-breaking, which was perpetrated in order to liberate Mr. Schultz. This petition was followed by another petition. The last petition was signed by, I think, some 800 of the most respectable people in the colony, both French and English. I cannot state whether they were all old residents, or whether some of them were Canadians who had just arrived, but it can be ascertained, because the petition has been published.

In the address which was sent in at that time, the population stated they had confidence in and respect for the administration of the Hudson's Bay Company. The difficulties which arose from this jail-breaking and these petitions were causes of the trouble which followed, because the people said: "This is the kind of men who will be sent to rule over the country." The reason why there had been a wish to have a change in the form of government was the natural desire of having a government in which the people could take part. I must say further that at one time there was a certain amount of feeling against the Hudson's Bay Company, previous to and up to 1859 and 1860, growing out of the monopoly by the Company of the fur trade, and the unsatisfactory representation of the population in the Council of Assiniboia. But subsequently the number of the Council being increased, and the new councillors being chosen from amongst representative men in the population, the discontent naturally diminished. I may say, further, that the monopoly ceased in 1849 in the colony, though not throughout the North-West, but it gradually ceased throughout that territory, and had entirely ceased several years prior to the transfer to Canada of the territory. Immediately before the troubles, the Hudson's Bay Company was not unpopular. During the troubles, however, the Company became unpopular among the French half-breeds. This unpopularity was caused by the negotiations which took place between the Honorable Company and the Canadian Government. The population complained that the Company had sold them, and that the Government had bought them. I do not think there was any discontent among the officers of the Company with regard to these negotiations with the Government. They were very well satisfied because these negotiations were favorable to them. There was a feeling amongst the factors that they ought to have shared in the £300,000 paid to the Company by the Government; but this did not irritate the factors against the Government. The irritation that existed was merely against those who controlled the Company in England. The proof of this is that all the officers of the Company were opposed to any resistance to Canada, although they were well aware that the population certainly had some grounds for complaint and dissatisfaction.

There was one transaction with the Hudson's Bay Company which interested the Company only. That was when the Company changed shareholders. In this case there

was a great deal of dissatisfaction among the factors. It had nothing, however, to do with political affairs. I do not know whether there was a sufficient number of the so-called Canadian party in the vicinity of the Fort to have defended it, had they been called on, and had they responded to such call. The only persons who I conceive would be called on by the Company in the emergency were the old pensioners, twenty or thirty in number, of whom many were aged and invalids, and who were scattered through the country and not concentrated near the fort. My notion is this, that for many years previous to this time the Canadian party had shown themselves hostile to the Company; had insulted the Government, and had so conducted themselves as to render it almost impossible for the Government to rely on them or to call on them for assistance. As to the French half-breeds, they were the party on whom the Government had for several years past relied for assistance in difficulties. They were at this time the attacking parties, and of course could not be used by the Company. The Government believed that they intended nothing against the Queen's authority, and therefore had no idea that they intended attacking the fort, and was taken by surprise at the taking of the fort. I think that the old resident Scotch and English half-breeds would not have answered the call of the Company.

The shop to which the men were compelled to resort was kept by a man named Hall. The common report of the people was that it belonged to Dr. Schultz, and this was why the people of Point du Chêne said to Colonel Dennis, "If you come here with Schultz, Hall or Hallett, we will send you back." This Hallett was interpreter to Snow, when he made a treaty with the Indians, and was one of the ring leaders in the last prison-breaking. He was also selected as the guide to take Hon. Mr. McDougall into the country. It was said that the work of surveying was instituted by the Government with the view of relieving the general distress existing. But the people placed no reliance on this statement, because the provisions of the Canadian Government were sold at a higher rate than similar provisions were sold in other shops in the country. For instance, flour, one of the most indispensable articles, was sold in other shops for \$15, and in the Government shop for \$18; and further, the men who worked in the woods were paid only \$15 per month, and they had to carry away the trees and wood which they had cut down, on their shoulders. I was a member of the Relief Committee at the time of the distress, and we received news from the Province of Ontario that \$5,000 had been voted for the relief of the distressed. The Committee went into debt on the strength of this promise to buy provisions for the suffering. We were never paid that money. In Mr. McTavish's letter, which I submitted to the Committee a few moments ago, there is a passage relating to this subject. I presume that this debt is now due by the Relief Committee to the Hudson's Bay Company. I cannot say that the facts relating to the sale of the Government stores at a higher rate than those sold in retail shops, were officially represented to the Government, but they were stated in public prints. I do not think I said anything about it myself to Sir George or Mr. Langevin, because it seemed to be a very small matter, compared with the difficulties from which the country was suffering. The persons who retailed the Government provisions were Mr. Snow and Mr. Mair, the person of whom I formerly spoke when I said I did not know exactly what position he occupied. I simply knew he was employed by Mr. Snow. I am not aware that the facts as to the sale of the provisions were communicated to the Government in any other way than through the newspapers. The points I communicated to Mr. Langevin and Sir George Cartier, were as to the discontent that existed among the people, because they had not had communicated to them the conditions on which they were to come into the Confederation.

There was a certain degree of apprehension which existed as to the person to be appointed Governor, whom the people did not know, and who could not therefore be regarded with confidence by them. I took the liberty of making suggestions to the Government, recommending them to send to the North-West two Commissioners, one French and one English, who should mix with the people, ascertain their feelings, and be able to report to the Government what steps it would be able to take which would be

satisfactory to the people. I made no further statement as to what I thought should be the details of Government, save that I expressed my view that it would be good to allow the people to elect some members of the Council. As to the Governor, I suggested that it would be proper to select a man who had lived amongst and was known to the people, and being asked my opinion, I recommended Mr. McTavish, who, in response to an enquiry from me, had made objection to taking the office on account of his health, and who, as I thought, told the Government, would take the office if pressed. I remember now, that when the Hon. Mr. McDougall was starting for the North-West with his ready-made Government, notwithstanding the manner in which my remarks had already been received, I wrote to Sir George that such a course should not be attempted, but the formation of the Council should be delayed until the arrival of the Governor, and that the members should then be chosen from the people of the territory. I did not write officially upon this subject, but I wrote a private letter to Sir George Cartier, to which I had not the honor of receiving any reply. This letter was written from Montreal in the month of October. Mr. Langevin replied to a communication I made to him in a very respectful manner, stating that he did not see what could be done under the circumstances, and trusting that my fears would prove to have been exaggerated. The apprehension which I entertained, and which I expressed to Sir George Cartier and the other gentlemen, was that if the Canadian Government was established in the country, some excess might be committed by the so-called Canadian party, which would lead to a rising among the population. I mean that I was of opinion that this might lead to some disturbance, but I had no apprehension of a general uprising. I could not define absolutely the position of affairs, of course, because I did not know of what disposition they all were. I was of opinion that circumstances would exercise a very considerable influence on the whole matter. If circumstances were favorable to the people, there would, in all probability, be no trouble. If, on the other hand, they were unfavorable, there might be trouble. I stated this to Mr. Langevin, verbally, but did not communicate it to him in writing. I mentioned this to Mr. Langevin and Sir George Cartier, and also to Mr. Chauveau, Mr. Quinnet, and other friends, who, I considered, would have influence with the two members of the Government I have just named. I left for Rome about the middle of October. I have been asked if I had any definite apprehension of what was going to occur in the North-West. I had no definite apprehension. I was not aware that there was any plan of action, and my opinion is that there was none. I have kept myself entirely out of all these machinations, if machinations they were; and, moreover, my opinion is that there were none. The matter grew up gradually, and the result was never foreseen or calculated upon by any body in my opinion.

I am of opinion that the articles published in the newspapers gave rise to a great deal of the feeling regarding Governor McDougall, and I may say that I consider the newspapers were, to some extent, the cause of the disturbances: not the Canadian newspapers alone, but especially a paper called the *Nor-Westerner*, which was published for some time before the troubles in the Colony of Assiniboia, and which contained attacks, first against the Company, and afterwards against the half-breeds, especially the French half-breeds.

I had a conversation with Governor McTavish on the subject of what passed between him and the Canadian Government, when he was at Ottawa. I had a conversation with him on the subject of my journey to Canada, and during that conversation, he told me what passed between him and the Canadian Government. Mr. McTavish was the only person to whom I communicated the reason of my journey to Canada. He said to me then: "My Lord, I wish that you may be successful, but I greatly fear you will lose your time and your trouble. I have just returned from Ottawa, and although I have been for forty years in the country, and Governor for fifteen years, I have not been able to cause any of my recommendations to be accepted by the Government." He continued: "Those gentlemen are of opinion that they know a great deal more about this country than we do," and added: "However, whether you succeed or not you will have done a conscientious work, and you will have the satisfaction of knowing that you have done your duty."

The only reason for delaying the granting of the amnesty promised by the proclamation of Sir John Young, that I am aware of, has been the excitement existing throughout the Dominion, and especially in the Province of Ontario. This is not merely my own opinion; it is also the opinion expressed to me by certain members of the late Government. The constant reply which I received when I spoke to them on the subject was, that the excitement was so great that the Government would not be sustained if the amnesty was given. I spoke first of all to Sir George Cartier on the subject, I then spoke to Sir John A. Macdonald, and subsequently to Mr. Langevin. I also spoke on subject to other members of the Government, but not so minutely because I was not brought so closely in contact with them. The reply I have quoted was that given me by each member of the Government when I spoke to them.

In the conversations I had with these gentlemen, I always understood that the amnesty was to be a full, complete and entire one. I never had any conversation on the subject of a partial amnesty, under that proclamation. I have had a communication relative to a partial amnesty, but that was not until the year 1873. That communication was with Sir John A. Macdonald, and it was made verbally, not in writing. I left for Rome in the month of October. On the evening before I left Paris, I saw a telegram stating that troubles had broken out at Red River. This was the first news I heard on the subject. I started, however, next morning and proceeded to Rome. On my arrival there other telegrams confirmed the news I had heard in Paris, and some days after I received letters which in effect stated that Mr. McDougall had been met at the frontier and had been repulsed. The next week I had further news telling me of the progress that had been made in the movement. I may state here that the last communication I then received from the Red River was dated the 16th November, 1869, and I received no communication afterwards until my arrival in Pembina in the month of March of the following year. On Christmas day His Grace the Archbishop of Halifax came to me with a letter from Sir Edward Keiny, and in this letter His Grace was told that troubles had broken out at Red River. Regret was expressed at my absence, and also a desire that I should endeavor to return thither. I replied to His Grace that the thing was impossible in consequence of the reception I had met with in passing through Ottawa. I desire here to state that this did not refer to the manner in which I was personally received, but I meant that I did not see that I could do any good seeing that I was not likely to receive any means of pacifying the people. Two days subsequently, His Lordship, Bishop Langevin, of Rimouski, came to me with a letter from his brother, the Hon. Mr. Langevin, alluding to the difficulties at the Red River, and expressing a desire that I should return. I do not say that this desire was expressed in the letter, but simply that Bishop Langevin had this letter in his hand, and said it was a very great pity that I could not go back. I then said to him: "Your brother knows how it is I cannot return." He then said to me "Would you consent to return?"—"Yes," I said, "I am willing to return if the Government ask me to do so, and give me some means of settling the difficulty." He then asked my leave to telegraph to his brother to this effect, and I consented to his doing so. On the 8th of January he came to me with a telegram which he had received from his brother, as follows:—

(No. 2.)

No. 2,305—Telegramma—Parole 46.

"Presentato a Valentia li 1870, Ore 3. Arrivato a Roma li 8/i 18.—Ore 9 10."

"BISHOP JEAN, LANGEVIN.

"Thirteen Via Agonale, near Place Navone, Rome.

(No. 2.)

"Pontifical States.

"Tell Bishop Taché, Government of Canada gladly accept his patriotic offer to go to Fort Garry and request his immediate return; his expenses will of course be paid.  
"Answer.

(Signed,)

"HECTOR L. LANGEVIN.

"Ottawa, Seventh."

I then took the liberty of remarking to Bishop Langevin that I did not offer to do so, but that what I said was, I would go if the Government asked me. The difficulties were so serious that I did not think on merely personal grounds, I could decline to go. I therefore said to Bishop Langevin that I would consult before giving a reply, and would myself prepare an answer to his telegram. He consented to this, and I prepared an answer to that telegram, as follows :

(No. 3.)

"Rome, January 11th, 1870.

"Hon. H. L. LANGEVIN, C.B.,

"Minister Public Works, Ottawa, Canada.

"At request of Government of Canada, Bishop Taché leaves this week if possible.

"BISHOP LANGEVIN."

As a matter of course, certain formalities had to be gone through before I could leave Rome, and in these formalities some days were occupied. I considered I ought to consult the Archbishop of Quebec, because at that time my diocese was in the Ecclesiastical Province of Quebec. The Archbishop of Quebec, Baillargeon, said to me : "From the manner in which you were treated I can understand how it is you could not go, but if you can consent to set aside the affront you have received, there is no doubt you would be doing a good work in proceeding to Red River." I applied for the necessary permission, and left Rome on the 13th January. I had business at Marseilles, Lyons, Paris and London. I stayed at all these places, travelling by night, and arrived at Portland on February 2nd, where I found a letter for me from Sir George E. Cartier as follows :

(No. 4.)

(Translation.)

"Ottawa, 25th January, 1870.

"MY LORD,—The few lines which I now address your Lordship will meet you on your arrival at Portland. I must at once express to your Lordship the gratit<sup>d</sup> de which my colleagues as well as myself feel for the readiness with which you have so graciously and patriotically offered your invaluable services to assist the Government of Canada in quieting the troubles which exist at Red River, and for the promptitude with which you have returned to this side of the Atlantic to meet the views of the Government.

"We all trust that the voyage has not been a very distressing one. I need not say that we look with great anxiety for your arrival at Ottawa, immediately after you landing at Portland. We therefore beg your Lordship to be so good as to set out, immediately after your reaching land, direct for the Capital. We shall be extremely obliged if, when you arrive at Portland, you will have the kindness to telegraph me the day when you will probably be in Ottawa. As a matter of course, immediately upon your arrival here, your Lordship will be informed of all that has occurred at Red River, and how matters stand there.

"Awaiting the pleasure and honor of again seeing you at Ottawa, allow me to subscribe myself,

"Your Lordship's obedient humble servant,

(Signed.)

"GEO. E. CARTIER.

"To His Lordship,

"Bishop TACHÉ."

I was unwell after my arrival. My indisposition was caused by my journey, and I could not start for some days after. I arrived at Ottawa on the 9th February, in company with Sir George Cartier. During my stay at Ottawa I had several opportunities of meeting His Excellency, Sir John Young, and several of the Ministers. On my arrival in Ottawa, Sir George Cartier introduced me to the Privy Council, the Council being in Session. Some members of the Council, I do not remember who now suggested that all the papers connected with the troubles in the Red River Settlement should be submitted to me for my information, and they were so submitted. The day after my arrival I went with Sir George Cartier to His Excellency the Governor General. During the remainder

of my stay in Ottawa, I met several of those gentlemen on different occasions, but there were only three of them with whom I spoke particularly on the subject of the affairs in the North-West. Those three gentlemen were Sir John A. Macdonald, Sir George Cartier and Hon. Mr. Howe. In all these conversations a desire was expressed that I should proceed to Red River, in order to bring about a pacification of the people. I alluded to the consequences which might result to some of those who were implicated in these troubles, and I was invariably told in all these conversations that the past would be forgotten, and that if the people would only consent to enter into the Confederation they should not be troubled in any way on account of the past. It was after these assurances had been received that certain documents, which have been published, were placed in my hands. I have the originals, and produce the letter of Mr. Howe, dated February 16th. (See page 111 of Blue Book Correspondence relative to disturbances in Red River Settlement.)

To this letter was attached the proclamation of Sir John Young, of 6th December, 1869, and I was assured this proclamation should have all the force the day I arrived at Red River that it had the day it was given to me. I may state one thing which seemed somewhat extraordinary. Mr. Howe asked me, before I received the letter of 16th February from him, if I would not prepare the draft of the letter, and which he said he would sign. I said no, I did not consider it necessary. I thought from what had been said to me, that I understood the position of affairs. I received the assurance I have repeated, as to the proclamation from Hon. Mr. Howe, from Sir John A. Macdonald and Sir George Cartier. On the same day His Excellency wrote me the letter, dated 16th February. At the same time I received from Hon. Mr. Howe amongst others, the documents I now produce, which are two letters from Mr. Howe to the very Rev. Vicar General Thibault, one dated December 4th, 1869 and the other December 6th, 1869. The one dated December 6th is not in the Blue Book, and is as follows:

(No. 5.)

*Letter from Hon. Joseph Howe to Reverend Mr. Thibault, V.G.*

"OFFICE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR PROVINCES,  
"December 6th, 1869.

"To the Very Rev. Mr. THIBAUT,  
"Grand Vicar, Ottawa.

"Sir,—Herewith you will receive 500 copies of a proclamation, signed by the Queen's representative, for distribution in the North West; and 100 copies of the instructions given to the Hon. William McDougall on the 28th of September. Of these you can make any use which may appear to you judicious. You will be good enough to wait upon Mr. McDougall at Pembina, and show him your instructions, and leave with him any copies of the printed papers which he may require.

"You will please report to this office, through safe channels, as soon as you have any thing important to communicate, but will not distribute the proclamations until you get to Pembina, and after consultation with Mr. McDougall.

"An accountable warrant for \$1,000 will be handed to you by Mr. Under-Secretary Meredith, and a similar sum will be paid to Colonel de Salaberry. Should funds be required for any special purpose, Mr. McDougall has authority to draw, or any of the Hudson's Bay Company's officers will accept your order.

"I have, &c.

(Signed;)

"JOSEPH HOWE,

"Secretary of State for the Provinces."

After receiving these instructions, I set out. The verbal instructions I received were always the same. They were, that I was to do all I could to quiet public excitement, and assure the people they would be well treated by Canada. I was always assured that an amnesty would be granted, and that the Government would be only too glad to grant one



if the people would submit. We spoke often and freely of the state of affairs in the country, so far as the news had arrived from Red River. There was something said at the time conveying, however, to me only an indefinite idea as to the formation of a Provisional Government. It was known all the time that possession had been taken of Fort Garry. The three members of the Government with whom I conversed were aware that Fort Garry had been taken possession of. Mention was made of it in some of the documents communicated to me. The leaders of the uprising were all mentioned by name, in both documents and conversation, as I think. Riel was mentioned as President. O'Donoghue, Bruce and Lepine were also mentioned. It was an understood and known fact that Riel was President at that time. It was stated, besides, that subsequently to Governor McDougall's proclamation, and the issue of the commission sending Colonel Dennis, there had been action taken amongst the English population; further, that prisoners had been made by Riel and his party, and that those prisoners were in jail at Fort Garry. The movement amongst the English population was spoken of as being a most foolish thing. The information received was that Colonel Dennis had entered into the country, and had taken possession of what was commonly known as Stone Fort, or Lower Fort Garry; that the population, as a whole, refused to respond to his appeal; and that His Lordship the Bishop of Rupert's Land wrote to Colonel Dennis to dissuade him from proceeding with his undertaking. The so-called Canadian party, and the Indians about Lower Fort Garry, were almost the only ones reported to have taken up arms.

I was not furnished with any other copy of the proclamation than that attached to Mr. Howe's letter of February 16th, but five hundred copies had been sent to Pembina. I was told that these copies were sent to Pembina, and allusions were made in the letter to Mr. Thibault to that effect. I am of opinion the copy was given to me because they were aware it was not yet proclaimed in the country. It had not been published in consequence of the letter of Mr. Howe to Mr. Thibault. I refer to the restriction as to the consultation with Mr. McDougall. I think it was known at Ottawa that the proclamation was not issued, but I cannot assert it positively. I received no other instructions except to make known His Excellency's intentions, as contained in the proclamation. The subject of fresh acts of violence was discussed between ministers and myself every day, and fears were expressed that the country would be filled with "fire and bloodshed." Further than this, surprise was expressed by members of the Privy Council that such a state of affairs had not already supervened, and this was spoken of as a proof of the great moderation which the half-breeds displayed.

There was some conversation between ministers and myself regarding the course taken by Mr. McDougall and Colonel Dennis, and their conduct was severely criticised by them. It was said that the population of the Province had good reason to fear the action of the Canadian authorities, since the persons employed by them had acted in so unwise and ill-advised a manner. I understood from the tenor of the conversation that the amnesty would apply to acts committed after that date (I mean the date of the conversation) as well as before; in fact that it should apply to all acts up to the time of my arrival, provided that the people should consent to unite with Canada. One of the ministers, Sir George Cartier, said to me:—"The Government has made many mistakes, and we cannot be surprised that the population should make some mistakes upon their side. Assure them that the disposition of the Government towards them is such that they may rely upon us with perfect security."

Any other conversation, I had was with Sir John Macdonald, who again impressed me with the necessity of informing the people of the good intentions of the Government towards them. I said to him then, "This is all very well, but there have been acts committed which are blameworthy, and there may be some others before my arrival there. May I promise them an amnesty." He answered me:—"Yes, you may promise it to them." I subsequently asked him to give me in writing the substance of the conversation that had passed between us. This was before I left Ottawa. It was then that Sir John Macdonald wrote me the letter dated the 16th February, 1870, as follows:—

(No. 6.)

" (Private.)

" DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE,

" OTTAWA, CANADA, February 16th, 1870.

" MY DEAR LORD,—Before you leave Ottawa on your mission of peace, I think it well  
 " to reduce to writing the substance of the conversation I had the honor to have with you  
 " this morning.

" I mark this letter ' private ' in order that it may not be made a public document, to  
 " be called for by Parliament prematurely ; but you are quite at liberty to use it in such a  
 " manner as you may think most advantageous.

" I hope that ere you arrive at Fort Garry, the insurgents, after the explanations that  
 " have been entered into by Messrs. Thibault, De Salaberry and Smith, will have laid down  
 " their arms, and allowed Governor McTavish to resume the administration of public affairs.  
 " In such case, by the Act of the Imperial Parliament of last session, all the public func-  
 " tionaries will still remain in power, and the Council of Assiniboia will be restored to their  
 " former position.

" Will you be kind enough to make full explanation to the Council on behalf of the  
 " Canadian Government, as to the feelings which animate, not only the Governor General,  
 " but the whole Government, with respect to the mode of dealing with the North-West.  
 " We have fully explained to you, and desire you to assure the Council authoritatively,  
 " that it is the intention of Canada to grant to the people of the North-West the same free  
 " institutions which they themselves enjoy.

" Had not these unfortunate events occurred, the Canadian Government had hoped,  
 " long ere this, to have received a report from the Council, through Mr. McDougall, as to  
 " the best means of speedily organizing the Government with representative institutions.

" I hope that they will be able immediately to take up that subject, and to consider  
 " and report, without delay, on the general policy that should immediately be adopted.

" It is obvious that the most inexpensive mode for the administration of affairs should  
 " at first be adopted. As the preliminary expense of organizing the Government after union  
 " with Canada, must, in the first, be defrayed from the Canadian treasury, there will be a  
 " natural objection in the Canadian Parliament to a large expenditure.

" As it would be unwise to subject the Government of the Territory to a recurrence  
 " of the humiliation already suffered by Governor McTavish, you can inform him that if  
 " he organizes a local police, of twenty-five men or more, if absolutely necessary, that the  
 " expense will be defrayed by the Canadian Government."

" You will be good enough to endeavor to find out Monkman, the person to whom,  
 " through Colonel Dennis, Mr. McDougall gave instructions to communicate with the  
 " Salteux Indians. He should be asked to surrender his letter, and informed that he ought  
 " not to proceed upon it. The Canadian Government will see that he is compensated for  
 " any expense that he has already incurred.

" In case a delegation is appointed to proceed to Ottawa, you can assure them that they  
 " will be kindly received, and their suggestions fully considered. Their expenses coming  
 " here and returning, and whilst staying in Ottawa, will be defrayed by us.

" You are authorized to state that the two years during which the present tariff shall  
 " remain undisturbed, will commence from the 1st January, 1871, instead of last January  
 " as first proposed.

" Should the question arise as to the consumption of any stores or goods belonging to  
 " the Hudson's Bay Company by the insurgents, you are authorized to inform the leaders  
 " that if the Company's Government is restored, not only will there be a general amnesty  
 " granted ; but in case the Company should claim the payment for such stores, that the  
 " Canadian Government will stand between the insurgents and all harm.

" Wishing you a prosperous journey and happy results,

" I beg to remain, with great respect,

" To the Right Reverend

" The Bishop of St. Boniface,

" Fort Garry."

" Your very faithful servant,

(Signed.)

" JOHN A. MACDONALD.

I made no special reference to the possibility of blood being spilt, as the conversation was in general terms. I made use, myself, of the expression before quoted "fire and bloodshed," but I had no knowledge at that time that blood had been spilt. As a matter of fact no blood had been spilt up to that time. This was the 16th of February. I remarked afterwards, that in the letter of Sir John A. Macdonald, there was a condition attached to the amnesty. This condition was not expressed in conversation, and no circumstances were mentioned, and no conditions were specified upon which I was not to issue the proclamation upon my arrival. Although it was known that bloodshed was expected, yet it was not stated that the proclamation was not to be used when I arrived. When I left Ottawa it was my impression and conviction that, no matter what took place in the North-West before my arrival, I was authorized to make that proclamation known as soon as I got there. I received no instructions to communicate with Mr. McDougall. The whole course of action was left to my discretion and judgment, according to the circumstances as I should find them on my arrival.

I was not instructed as to any mode of publishing the proclamation, except that I was to communicate it to the leaders, they being the persons I have already named. I was also directed to communicate with Mr. Smith, who was already a Commissioner, and with Mr. Thibault and Mr. Deschamps, and with Governor McTavish. I understood that my instructions as to the amnesty authorized me to cover every event which should have occurred before my arrival in the Territory, including such an event as the death of Scott, and this was my belief and understanding also after I arrived and when I heard of that event.

COMMITTEE ROOM,

SATURDAY, 18th April, 1874.

Archbishop Tache's evidence resumed :

When I reached St. Paul I received intelligence of the convention at Fort Garry, and I telegraphed to Ottawa to Mr. Howe, asking if they had heard of the Bill of Rights.

He replied by telegram, dated 23rd February, 1870, as follows :—

(No. 7.)

*From Ottawa.*

" 23rd February, 1870.

"To Right Rev. Bishop Taché.

"Bill of Rights not yet received here. Will telegraph and write you when I get it.

"What news have you. Answer by telegraph.

(Signed,)

"JOSEPH HOWE."

I then telegraphed the Bill of Rights to Mr. Howe. I received in reply the telegram of 25th February, 1870, as follows :—

(No. 8.)

*By Telegram from Ottawa.*

"To Bishop Taché,

"St. Paul.

"February 25th, 1870.

"Proposition in the main satisfactory, but let the delegation come here to settle the details.

(Signed,)

"JOSEPH HOWE."

I received this after my arrival in Fort Garry. I arrived on the 9th March. I began at once the work of my mission. On my arrival I was able of course to see all the people about my house and neighbourhood, but no body was allowed to come to my house. There was a guard at the door of my house which prevented any one coming in except my clergy. Still I was allowed to go out freely myself, and I did so. I wrote to Mr. Howe to give an account of the feeling which I ascertained existed on my arrival, and as I have a copy of the letter here I produce it, as follows :—

(No. 9.)

*His Lordship Bishop Taché to the Hon. Mr. Howe.*

(Translation.)

" BISHOP'S PALACE,  
 " ST. BONIFACE, 11th March, 1870.

" SIR,—The painful duty devolves upon me of communicating to His Excellency the condition of the country. I am most of all astonished at my own ignorance of the real state of affairs during my stay in Ottawa. The sight of the evils which weigh our people down, and the dread of still greater evils which it may be, threaten them, cause one's heart to bleed. This colony, formerly so calm and so peaceful is now given over to desolation. With the deepest regret I feel it my duty to state that, with very few exceptions, all who have come from Canada have acted as if their object was, not only to compromise the Dominion Government, but also to open out an unfathomable abyss.

" I should deeply grieve you, and might even appear to you to be exaggerating, if I were to undertake to relate to you all that has been said or done here within the past six months. Making a large allowance for exaggeration, enough remains to give rise to a deep feeling of grief and to explain, in part at least, the agitation which prevails. Let them be appreciated as they may, the following are the facts:—

" A Provisional Government is proclaimed, and is recognized not only by the French section of the population, but even also by the Scotch colony, and by most if not all the parishes where the English language is spoken. The Anglican Bishop and his clergy also recognized that Government, which was for the time a military organization resolved to cause itself to be respected. The idea of annexation, if at any time it existed, appears to have vanished; a large majority wish for union with Canada, but the Council desire to lay down their conditions, which will, perhaps, be different from those which was specified by the convention.

" The threat of sending troops is, without doubt, the greatest obstacle to conciliation. Dissatisfaction with the Hudson's Bay Company is only equalled by that felt against the Hon. Mr. McDougall, and all those who rallied to support him by force of arms. Not only is Fort Garry occupied by the Provisional Government, but all that it contains. Furs and merchandise have been seized by that Government. The Convention had hardly closed (and it had been a very stormy one), when the whole country was on the eve of a general conflagration. Colonel Dennis' old plan was resumed—Captain Boulton, at the head of some hundred men, came down from Portage de la Prairie, and after efforts to increase his party, passed Fort Garry.

" President Riel was informed of this movement. The exasperation was at its height in the garrison at Fort Garry. The men wanted to pursue these new aggressors; happily Mr. Riel and the other leaders succeeded in quieting their men, declaring that they never would be the first to shed blood. This moderation is the more worthy of praise, from the fact that probably not a single man of Captain Boulton's party would have escaped. It was at four in the morning, when the men were benumbed by the intense cold, after a march of several hours; besides they were not prepared to offer immediate resistance, for they thought to pass by unnoticed. On the other hand, Doctor Schultz was coming up the Red River from its mouth, raising the Indian population, the Swampers and English half-breeds. They were asked to come forward not to fight, but to arm themselves in order to rescue the prisoners.

" The junction of these two armed bodies took place near the Scotch Church at Killdonnan. The Scotch refused to take part in this movement, which fact at the outset cast a damper on it.

" The plan of the leaders, whose followers mustered some hundred men, was, it is said, to take possession of the Palace of the Bishop (of St. Boniface) and of the Cathedral, and from thence attack Fort Garry. The party also relied on the aid of some French Canadian half-breeds, who were to gather at a certain point and thence proceed to devastate the

" properties (and in fact, it is said, to assault the families of the soldiers of the Provisional Government,) in order to compel them to disband for the protection of their homes. This latter movement did not take place. These events occurred on the days of the 14th, 15th and 16th February, at a time when we in Ottawa believed that everything was settling down. This mad project had the effect of strengthening the Provisional Government. Very nearly all the French hitherto opposed to that Government, and who are here called rebels, rallied to the party. The Scotch and a great number of others did the same. During this time a young French half-breed was made prisoner; he soon fled, seizing a double barreled gun. Owing to sequence of circumstances, the nature of which is unknown, he shot a young Scotchman of the name of Sutlerland, and killed him. Pursued by those who had previously captured him, he defended himself with an energy and vigor which exhibited a foretaste of the nature of the struggle impending with hundreds of his fellows.

" An intimation carried to President Riel, elicited from him the answer: 'I want peace, but I am ready for war, and since you will have it we shall begin at once.' This answer, and the efforts of sensible men, created confusion in the camp, most of the men having joined without the intention of fighting; they all dispersed during the evening of the 16th. On the morning of the 17th, some of the Portage men thought they could return. They appeared in sight of Fort Garry, but at a certain distance on the prairie, some thirty horsemen were at once sent out, with orders to make them prisoners. Every one expected resistance; happily it did not occur, all of them laid down their arms and were made prisoners, to the number of forty-eight. Captain Boulton was tried by court-martial and was condemned to death. The solicitations of the Commissioners, the clergy and the Sutherland family (whose son had been killed) secured his pardon. These deplorable events threw back the arrangements in progress. The delegates having been appointed were about to start, and all matters seemed to be on the eve of a settlement. Among the prisoners was one Scott, the very man who, having been brought from Canada by Mr. Snow, had murdered him at Pointe des Chénés. Passing through Winnipeg on the night of the 13th and 14th, Scott entered the house of one Conter, a relative of Mr. Riel's, and to which the latter often resorted. He inquired whether the President was there, with the intention, as stated by some, of killing him, or of taking him as a hostage according to other accounts. Scott, when taken prisoner, exasperated the authorities, and I am grieved to tell you that the unfortunate man was sentenced to death by a court-martial and shot on the 4th instant.

" An expedition despatched by the Provisional Government started yesterday for the Portage. I do not know its precise object, and still less the result. If this expedition succeeds without bloodshed, I have some hope that we shall have quiet, and that the delegates will start.

" You will easily understand the difficulty of my position under the present circumstances. It would be but too easy to cause a division, but I consider that this would be the greatest of misfortunes. I want, on the contrary, to labour for union and the re-establishment of peace, for the Indians would take advantage of such disunions. My action can be but slow, for the Government will easily understand that the utmost prudence is required under the circumstances. I have this day had an interview with the President in order to assure him of the just and generous intentions of the Government; I begged him not to attach any importance to the clamours of certain newspapers, to rest assured that Canada does not wish and cannot wish the destruction or the enslavement of the people of the North-West. The whole French population (except a small fraction said to have been bought over) are convinced that the greatest misfortune that could have fallen to their lot would have been to fall under the government of Mr. McDougall, and of those who had accompanied or preceded him. People here believe in the existence of an organized plan, prepared without the knowledge of the Government (but which it ought to have foreseen and known), with the object of driving out of the country, or at least of reducing to a species of servitude within it, the French Canadian half-breeds of the Red River and of the whole North-West. It is this idea that exasperates the people.

"Time and kind treatment can alone heal the deep and fearful wound which has just been inflicted. Therefore it is that I take the liberty respectfully to state to the Government that steps must be taken to delay emigration, for, in the present exasperation of the public mind, the new comers would incur great danger.

"His Excellency's proclamation has not been published in the country. The Commissioners deemed it well to abstain, through motives of prudence, and I think they were perfectly right. The matter hinges on the conviction entertained by the people that they cannot be forced to enter into Confederation any more than the other Provinces of the Dominion; that the people believe themselves in no way bound by the arrangements made with the Hon. the Hudson's Bay Company: that as a consequence the words 'Rebels,' 'Insurgents,' 'Traitors,' are so many insults which they repel with indignation. *This is the root of the whole matter*,—all the rest is merely accessory, and there exists no means of conciliation but to act in conformity with that principle. The people cannot tolerate the idea of having been sold, and this is the explanation of their discontent, as well towards Canada for purchasing as towards the Company for their share of the transaction.

"The unfortunate incidents I have above referred to have but served to develope this feeling, and increased the excitement induced by a transaction in which no mention has been made of the parties most deeply interested.

"I take the very great liberty of saying that these reasons are more than plausible, and that I am confident His Excellency's Government will take into favorable consideration the claims of the delegates who are to start on Thursday next, and that, in the meantime, Parliament will refrain from legislating for a country where its authority is rejected by the population.

"I have the honor to be,

"Your very humble servant,

(Signed,) "ALEXANDER,

"Bishop of St. Boniface, O.M.I."

The Provisional Government put guards at my door. When I arrived in the North-West, I was told that there were about 150 men in the fort thoroughly armed and decided to fight if attacked, and, moreover, determined to carry out any orders of the Provisional Government. Before my arrival, considerable progress had been made in conciliating the people. The Canadian Commissioners had endeavored to make known the intentions of the Government thoroughly, and I think if the aggressive movement had not been undertaken, the minds of the people would have been appeased. The determination was, not to submit to force in any way, but rather to see the country go to ruin first, and they were encouraged in this intention by offers of help from outside, in case an attempt should be made to subdue them.

On my arrival, I thought it necessary to make enquiries before taking any action, and I took two days for that purpose. I had orders from the Government to communicate with the Canadian Commissioners and Governor McTavish, but I was for six days unable to see the Governor. His house was under guard, and I was not permitted to get access to him; I was speedily convinced that the situation was extremely perilous, and that every possible precaution should be taken to conciliate all interests at stake. I noticed specially five interests which were to be reconciled; the interests of the Crown, which seemed to be threatened by an invasion from outside, in aid of the insurgents; the interests of the whole population, both French and English, in the North-West; the interests of the Dominion Government, because the slightest evidence of a hostile disposition on the part of their officers would have rendered conciliations impossible; the position of the Indians; and the interests of the Hudson's Bay Company. The Indians were in a very restless condition, and I regret very much to have to say that they had been driven to that excitement by Canadian officials. When in Ottawa I was shown a letter of instruction given by Colonel Dennis to an English half-breed, of the name of Joseph Monkman. I found

that letter was exceedingly dangerous; not perhaps according to its very wording, but on account of the spirit and disposition of the Indians.

I took the liberty of observing to the Government that there was real danger for the whole North-West in the transaction entrusted to the care of Mr. Monkman.

So much weight did the Government at Ottawa seem to attach to my observations, that they abstained from publishing that letter in the Blue Book with the other documents which were furnished to Parliament.

I received instructions from Sir John A. Macdonald, in a letter produced yesterday, to find out Mr. Monkman, and to try and get back the instructions given him by Colonel Dennis, and to induce him if possible to abstain from taking any action in the matter, assuring him that he would be rewarded, and his trouble paid for.

He had been promised ten shillings sterling a day by Colonel Dennis, if he should work among the Indians and excite them. Such were not the words of the instruction, but such was the result which necessarily would have taken place.

I had to consider all these circumstances, and I had been told previous to my departure from Ottawa to act according to the best of my judgment, and as the circumstances might call for, which it was known were changing every day; in fact, I had the same instructions which had been given to Mr. Smith when he was appointed Canadian Commissioner.

On the day of my arrival I immediately consulted with Mr. Thibault and Mr. De Salaberry, who were both in my house.

I had but very little chance of seeing Mr. Smith, who was in the fort, because I did not like to go there often, and it was six days before I was allowed to see Mr. McTavish who was also in the fort.

Two full days after my arrival I went to the fort, and I saw the President of the Provisional Government, Riel, Lepine, and perhaps O'Donohue and some of the leaders, and I endeavoured to explain to them the liberal disposition of the Government towards the country, not only the necessity for them to be loyal to the Crown, but also the good result which would arise from receiving the Canadian authorities with pleasure and satisfaction.

I think that the first interview produced a good result. I told them I had in my hand a proclamation from His Excellency the Governor General. Their answer was this, as far as I can recollect: "We have had too many of these already, but unfortunately they were not genuine." I answered them: "For this I give my guarantee, for the very copy I have in my possession was given to me by the authorities," and I showed them the signature of Sir John Young, the Governor General of Canada, and I assured them that there was not the slightest doubt that his intention was to bring about its fulfilment.

I think this caused pleasure to the leaders of the Provisional Government, and they then told me repeatedly that they never intended to rise against the Crown, that their sole intention was to come to an understanding with the Canadian authorities previous to joining Confederation.

They were not a herd of buffaloes they said, as they were called in the newspapers, but they were men and British subjects, and as such were entitled to consideration. The little consideration given to them both in England and Canada, they said, had been the cause of the rising. I at once spoke about the prisoners, and I was told, at a subsequent interview, I think on the following day, that the half of them would be delivered at once, and the rest in the course of a few days.

The Rev. Mr. Black, Presbyterian minister in Red River, paid me a visit after my arrival, that is, as soon as the guard which was put at my door was taken away, and people were allowed to come freely in to me.

I may here state that the guard was taken away after I went to Fort Garry and saw Mr. Riel.

This was in consequence of my announcement that the Government had no hostile intentions towards them.

Mr. Black, as I have said, called on me and gave me an account of what had taken place at his own parsonage.

The people gathered in the church, and in Mr Black's parsonage, and in the neighborhood, and a consultation was held in his own room, at which it was proposed to go and seize my palace and my cathedral, fortify them, and have cannons placed there with which to fight the parties across the river. Some of the party, however, objected to that, as the French people generally, being Catholics, considered the palace and the cathedral sacred, and it would only provoke them and cause those not already under arms to rally to the Provisional Government. Finally the idea was abandoned altogether.

This is all I recollect of my conversation with Mr. Black, save that Mr. Black told me he had dissuaded them from coming to the fort, and showed them the folly of their plan; and he added too, there was absolutely no organization amongst them, that in fact, one man had already been killed, and another so seriously injured that he was at the time left, for dead, and never recovered. Bishop MacRae and Archdeacon McLean, told me in substance the same thing, and that they also had endeavored to dissuade the people from carrying out their proposition. There were many reports as to the number of men assembled there. I was told by some that there were 500, and by others that there were as many as from 700 to 800.

When I first met the Legislative Assembly of Assiniboia, which I did on the Monday following my arrival, and after the interviews I have above detailed, with Riel, Lepine and O'Donohue, I promised them merely that they would be well treated in a general way if they would enter into negotiations with the Government, as they were desired to do.

After they came to believe in the sincerity of the Canadian Government, they expressed their satisfaction, especially when I read Mr. Howe's telegram about the "Bill of Rights."

I did not make any further promise at that meeting than to state the general good disposition of the Canadian Government towards them.

When I did make the promise of amnesty, it was not in the name of the Canadian Government, but in the name of His Excellency the Governor General, and in accordance with his own proclamation. When I told the people that the Canadian Government would receive the delegates well; that they would pay their expenses going to Ottawa and coming back, and besides, that if they would go they would get a satisfactory solution of their demands, the disposition of the people was completely changed.

They then told me that they were satisfied; that they would lay down their arms; that they would accept the decision of the Crown, and be willing to enter into Confederation upon a fair footing. I produced no other document at the meeting mentioned with Riel, Lepine and O'Donohue, except the proclamation. They made an observation that the proclamation was dated on the 6th of December, while it was then the 11th of March. I told them in reply to this, and as I believed then, and believe now, that the proclamation having been given to me on the 16th February, to carry to the Red River, it not only covered all offences up to that date, but until I was in a position to hand it to the interested parties.

I added that from the explanations made to me at Ottawa, I was entirely satisfied that the proclamation had full effect up to the time I delivered it there.

They upon that occasion refused to submit to the Canadian authorities unless an amnesty was granted which would cover all transactions prior and up to the time of meeting, but they did not refuse to submit to the Imperial authorities. I am satisfied that unless such an amnesty had been offered, they would have resisted the Canadian party. It was after this when I had ascertained that the country would certainly be ruined if the promise were not made, that I stated that the proclamation covered all deeds committed up to that date.

I told the members of the Provisional Government that the probability of something happening during the interval of my journey from Ottawa to the North-West, had been discussed between myself and the Government at Ottawa, and that my conviction, based upon these discussions and the instructions I had received, was very strongly in favour of the idea that the proclamation was meant to cover all such contingencies.



They did not lay down their arms immediately, because they said such a proceeding would be the cause of much mischief, as there was then in the country a certain party which would take advantage of their position and go and kill them.

I am myself satisfied that it would have been so. They therefore remained in arms until the troops arrived.

I was informed by the members of the Provisional Government that they had framed a "Bill of Rights," different from that of the Assembly, which they intended to send by the delegates to Ottawa.

The Provisional Government had been acknowledged by all parties, so far as I could ascertain on my arrival. They had been recognized by the authorities of the Hudson's Bay Company, by the English population, and in fact when I arrived they were the sole government of the country. [See letter No. 11 for proof of this.]

(No. 11.)

*Letter of the Right Reverend R. Macrea, the Lord Bishop of Rupert's Land, to H. G. Archbishop Taché.*

"(ST. JOHN), BISHOP'S COURT,

"April 5th, 1870.

"MY LORD,—Application has been made to me on behalf of Messrs. Hart, Webb and Durie, three Canadian gentlemen who are staying somewhere below, to ask for them from the President of the Provisional Government a pass, to enable them to proceed to Canada.

"I do not know whether such a pass is still required, but in case it is, I have thought it well to forward their application to your Lordship, as I think you may be better able to obtain satisfactorily what they wish.

"I am, my Lord,

"Your Obedient Servant,

(Signed),

"R.,

"Rupert's Land.

"The Right Reverend,

"The Bishop of St. Boniface."

I thought myself that in the meantime it would not be well to displace that Government, as that would have left the country without any ruling authority, and would have led to a renewal of the former disturbances. I did not endeavour to make them abdicate their functions as a Government immediately. My endeavour was to show them that if they laid down their arms when the Canadian authorities came, they would have an amnesty up to the time of my interview with them, and in the meantime I insisted upon the delegation starting for Ottawa at once. I understood at that time that the Provisional Government had taken the place of the Hudson's Bay Company as governors of the country, because Mr. McTavish, Governor of that Company, had, previous to my arrival, advised them to do so, and the Canadian Commissioner had counselled the people to submit to them as they were only a Provisional Government.

I had information to this effect, not only from the members of the Provisional Government themselves, but also from Governor McTavish, and I have here a letter from that gentleman, dated 18th March, 1870, which I produce.

(No. 10.)

"FORT GARRY,

"18th March, 1870.

"MY LORD,—I have not seen President Riel yet, and am anxious to know whether he is keeping off till I write him, or is just waiting till he has time to see me. Should I write to him and beg him to come and see me, as I have long made up my mind, on the point he and I last spoke. I know I have before given him offence by asking him to

"come to me, and I don't want to do that. At the same time no feeling of ill-timed vanity  
 "has interfered with my asking him now. A mere hint for me to open communication  
 "with him or not will suffice. But I would prefer agreeing to the loan personally, as  
 "thought in the first instance, and I would like at the same time to speak to him about his  
 "communications for Fort Ellice and other posts. I am afraid you will have difficulty in  
 "reading this scrawl.

" Hoping you will excuse my troubling you to-day and all days, believe me, with very  
 "sincere feelings of gratitude;

" Yours very faithfully,  
 (Signed,) " W. McTAVISH.

" The Right Reverend,  
 " The Lord Bishop of St. Boniface,  
 " St. Boniface."

Previous to that letter, I had two or three interviews with Mr. McTavish, at one of which I asked him if he had been surprised at the course I had taken. He answered me: "No; I was sure you would have done exactly what you have done. Previous to your arrival I was told Bishop Taché would do this and Bishop Taché would do that; but I answered 'No! Bishop Taché knows the country too well, and has its good too much at heart ever to take rash measures.' I think that what you have done was the only means of avoiding more difficulty and increased danger." Mr. McTavish was then ill, though not confined to bed, but although he never recovered from that illness, he was then in perfectly sound mind.

The first letter (of which I produce copy) I received from Ottawa after my arrival in the North-West was dated 27th May, 1870, and signed by the Hon. Joseph Howe. It was in answer to several letters I had sent to Ottawa, of which I also produce copies, dated 3rd and 7th May, 1870:

(No. 12.)

*Letter of H. G. Archbishop Taché to the Hon. Joseph Howe.*

" RED RIVER SETTLEMENT,  
 " 3rd May, 1870.

" Hon. Joseph Howe,  
 " Secretary of State for the Provinces,  
 " Ottawa, Canada.

" HONORABLE SIR,—After several weeks' expectation, the mail has at last arrived. I  
 "am sorry at not having received a word directly from Government, as it would have been  
 "of great use to counterbalance the sad impression experienced on the perusal of most of  
 "the articles of English press in Canada on Red River affairs."

"The savage scheme planned by the *Evening Mail*, and some other sheets, are sufficient  
 "to bring new complications, of which it is impossible to foresee the consequences, except  
 "the destruction of the settlement.

"No doubt faults have been committed, the lamentable event of the death of Scott is  
 "painful to any sensible man; but, in the mean time, the mass meetings to congratulate  
 "Schultz, Mair and others of the same character, will shew to every one what was the late  
 "prepared to the poor half-breeds had those men succeeded in their ambitious views.

"To complete my anxiety, the St. Paul Press announces the arrest of Father  
 "Ritchot. It is true that, for my part, I believe it to be a falsehood. Surely Canadian  
 "Government would not violate the promise given; but in the mean time all this news  
 "received by the same mail excite here a strong feeling of uneasiness.

"I regret the occurrence so much the more, that the situation was assuming altogether  
 "a better aspect.

"The British flag was hoisted two weeks ago, and is since floating; trade is freely  
 "carried on; preparations are made to convey the usual supplies to the interior, messen-

"gers have been sent to prevent any assault against the Company's establishments inland, peace and quietness prevail, and throughout the whole settlement prisons are long ago empty, the regular administration of justice has taken its course; with the sole exception of fear of the Indians, the settlement was recovering from the danger incurred during the whole winter, and anticipating a fair and advantageous agreement with Canada. What the result of the news received to-day will be I cannot ascertain at this moment, but shall not fail to inform you at the earliest opportunity.

"We do not care for the scandalous accusations of Mair, nor the gross injuries addressed by the *Globe* to the Commissioners, and to myself in particular. They are of the same value as those directed to the honorable body of which you are so distinguished a member. Still, the old proverb "Lie, lie, something will always come of it," will find a new illustration in this affair.

"I have mentioned fear relative to the Indians, and I am sorry to say that such danger is really very great. Dennis, Mair, Schultz and Monckman have been amongst them. Some others are still busy exciting them, so it is possible that the wishes expressed by the *Evening Mail* may be realized, and then, most likely, mass meetings would be held to congratulate the first authors of all our troubles, on the mass massacres they would have caused.

"Please excuse haste, the mail is just leaving.

"I remain, Honorable Sir,  
(Signed,) "ALEX., Bishop of St Boniface.  
"O.M.S."

(No. 13.)

"RED RIVER SETTLEMENT,  
"May 7th, 1870.

"Hon. Joseph Howe,  
"Secretary for the Provinces,  
"Ottawa, Canada.

"HONORABLE SIR,—I take the liberty to address to you a few remarks to-day, to be communicated to His Excellency in Council. I am really overwhelmed on the reception of newspapers by the mail of yesterday. The news of the arrest of two of the delegates is confirmed. Though I am sure it is not the act of the Government, still it seems a direct violation of the promise made in their behalf "that they would be well treated." I brought that promise myself, and gave full assurance to every one here that there was not the slightest danger, and now the whole population here see clearly that those delegated, asked by you and sent by them, would very likely have been the victims of the blind fury of excited mobs, if they had passed by the usual road, the road that the Canadians would naturally follow. This danger avoided, the delegates have been arrested in the Capital of the Dominion!

"Although our poor people are supposed to be savages, they can and do feel very much astonished and grieved at such an occurrence. Along with that isolated fact, what clamors and what tone in most of the English press of Canada! I cannot but repeat how deeply I deplore the execution of the unfortunate Scott, but he is not the first British subject killed in this country. Many and many half-breeds have been killed by the Indians. They, British subjects, called for protection, but the voice of the unknown people was never strong enough to cause the slightest echo in Great Britain, nor in Canada. The half-breeds, when murdered by the Indians, never succeeded to move a feeling of sympathy in their behalf, and to-day the loud cries of indignation that call for blood and vengeance are rolling through the deserts which still separate us from the rest of the world, and their echoes bring astonishment and sorrow to our midst, without even considering what might be the disastrous consequences of such proceedings. Is it fair, after entering into negotiations with a people on a principle of peaceable agreement (and that the same was coming rapidly), is it fair to think of taking such action? Here, again, I

"willingly acknowledge that it is not the action of the Government; we are not ignorant of the wise answer given by Sir John A. Macdonald and some other members of the Cabinet, to violent interpellations on the subject, and I am happy to say, as far as I can ascertain, that such answers with the certitude that the Privy Council will stick to its promise, have offered a pleasant compensation to the painful impression caused by the reception of the last news.

"All the threats made against the half-breeds, all the efforts to bring bloody collisions between different sections of our people, all this is sufficient proof that human blood, that the blood of British subjects is not so sacred as pretended in the estimation of those who shew clearly that they are really in earnest in their desire to spill our blood here. There can be no mistake, it is obvious, to every one that the pretended loyalty of those who speak the loudest is entirely due to the deception they experienced on not having succeeded, as quickly as they desired, in assuming for themselves all power in the North-West, making it, as they now so openly avow, "Another Ontario in creed and politics." To attain that object, they wished to destroy or to remove from their native land, the "serfs," the dusky *protégés* of Bishop Taché, the poor French Canadian half-breeds of the North-West. No! England will not endorse such unjust and sectarian views, but hasten those expressed by His Excellency the Governor of Canada and his Privy Council. These views of conciliation, peace and forgiveness, I miss no opportunity to express them both privately and publicly, and undoubtedly they have produced a far better effect than all the threats and rash expressions. I still continue to assure the people that the intentions of the Government are not changed, and that all the noise is caused chiefly by political parties and opponents to Government.

"Shall I now come to something more personal? I see to-day how my efforts to bring conciliation are appreciated by some organs of public opinion. I so sincerely despise those who give such information to the *Globe* and *Daily Telegraph*, that I really feel honored at not being considered "loyal and trustworthy," in a sense that would suit their views. Yes, I am a "traitor," and all they may please to call me, provided I am not able to tell such scandalous falsities as those which fill up the columns of the newspapers alluded to. If the consciences of the revilers were as clear as mine of the cause of the troubles in Red River, if their hearts were as grieved as mine is about the whole, they would appreciate more wisely the course I have been obliged to pursue. It would not have been difficult to excite people and cause bloodshed to a large extent, it would not have been difficult at my arrival to precipitate the destruction of the country, to induce the half-breeds to fight one against the other; that I have avoided carefully, and I am sure that such was the desire of the Canadian Government, as well as mine. I have accepted, and I hope I have conscientiously fulfilled, a mission of peace; but a mission of trouble, of blood, or of destruction, I would never have accepted. And I am quite sure you would never have offered it to me. At such a distance it is very difficult to judge events, and complete ignorance of the disposition of the people cannot be the surest guide how to treat with them. Facts will surely prove more than all clamours. I have by no means the pretension of attributing solely to my efforts the changes which have taken place in the country since my arrival. Other commissioners and circumstances have contributed to a better turn of the events; meanwhile, I flatter myself with the idea that I have not been entirely a stranger to it. Allow me to point out some of the changes, that you may judge how far I have forfeited the confidence with which you have honored me. The first week after my arrival, half of the prisoners were liberated, and to this was added the promise that the rest would soon follow. An expedition, the object of which was to generalize the insurrectional movement in the interior, was stopped. The *New Nation* was suspended on account of its expressing the desire of annexation with the United States.

"The second week no more prisoners were in gaol; and the delegation started for Canada. Moreover, a man was prevented from going to the States, as it was suspected that his intention was to ask the aid of England.

"The third week, the trading post of Manitoba which had been seized, was restored to its first owners. The *New Nation*, the organ and property of the Provisional Government,

"begin to proclaim openly the necessity of loyalty to the Crown, and the advantage of an honorable settlement with the Dominion of Canada. The last obtrusion in the road was removed, and dangerous gathering of the Indians began to disperse.

"The fourth week (on certain conditions, it is true,) the furs and balance of goods at Fort Garry were restored to the hands of the Hudson's Bay Company, and business resumed.

"The fifth week, the post of White Horse Plains, the only one remaining in the possession of the Provisional Government, was given back to the Company.

"The sixth week, the "party flag" (which was never the Fenian flag) was replaced by the old "Union Jack," not without some little difficulties, but the noble British standard has floated since. Peace and confidence are prevailing, and without any exception, the whole community is joyfully anticipating the speedy settlement of our past difficulties by our complete and peaceable union with Canada.

"The result, however incomplete it may seem to be, is nevertheless owing to circumstances and excitement, even more than I expected when I arrived here, as you might have observed by the tenor of my first letter, dated the 11th of March.

"Excuse the liberty I have taken in speaking of myself. I would have omitted to mention the result attained were I not persuaded that it will show how easy it is to avoid extreme and rash measures when softer means are sure to be efficacious. About all we have to deplore is previous to my arrival, and unfortunately, perhaps, a great deal worse might have occurred had the benevolent intention of both Imperial and Canadian Governments not been relied upon. Fully convinced that such were the dispositions of the authorities, I have always made them the starting point of my explanations. I need not say how painful it would be to me to think that I have been deceived, or that I would be suspected to have tried to deceive others. Such will not occur; our delegates will come back with a liberal grant of what is just and fair to the people of the country, and in a few weeks more we shall be relieved from all anxiety.

"I remain with much respect,

"Your humble servant,

£ (Signed),

"ALEXANDER,  
Bishop of St. Boniface, O.M.I."

"P.S.—I will add information which I wish to remain strictly confidential with the members of the Cabinet. I know that offers of large supplies of men and money to help in case of troops coming to attack the half-breeds have been offered them. I hope, but I cannot certify, that they have been refused. I perfectly understand that it would be folly to the extreme even to think of resisting the power of England, whatsoever help people here may receive from abroad. But what would be the consequences? Ruin, disasters, and destruction of a population heretofore loyal and honest.

(Signed),

"ALEXANDER,  
Bishop of St. Boniface."

(No. 14.)

"OTTAWA, 27th May, 1870.

"MY LORD,—I have had the honor to receive your Lordship's letters of the 3rd and 7th of May, and am commanded by His Excellency the Governor General to express his sympathy in your anxieties and his warm acknowledgements of your exertions in the cause of peace and moderation.

"I did not write to your Lordship, because until the close of the Session, and until the final passage of the Manitoba Bill, I had nothing certain to communicate.

"The manifestations of strong feelings in the Province of Ontario, grew naturally out of the shooting of Scott, but on the first intimation of possible attempts to molest the delegates on their way to Ottawa, peace officers were despatched from hence to Prescott to protect them to the Capital.

"The arrest of the Reverend Mr. Ritchot and Mr. Alfred Scott, was made on the

" affidavit of the brother of the man who was slain, in conformity with the ordinary  
" procedure of the law of the Province of Ontario, with which the executive of the  
" Dominion had nothing to do; and your Lordship knows that under our free constitu-  
" tional system of government, the Privy Council have no power to interfere with the  
" action of the ordinary tribunals.

" The law necessarily took its course, and after a full investigation, the delegates, who  
" were represented by the Honorable J. H. Cameron, M.P., as their Counsel, were  
" released.

" The Government, after free communication with the delegates, and with other  
" persons who professed to represent the views of different settlements and sections of the  
" country, framed a measure designed to give constitutional government to the people of  
" Red River, and submitted the same to Parliament. This measure, after full discussion,  
" was carried by large majorities, and received the sanction of the Queen's Representative  
" on the 12th instant. Copies of the Act go with this despatch, and His Excellency  
" trusts that Her Majesty's subjects will find in its fair and liberal provisions a full  
" assurance of the honorable position which the new Province is to occupy hereafter as a  
" portion of this Dominion.

" Your Lordship will also perceive, in the selection of the Honorable Adams G.  
" Archibald, M.P., to organize and administer the Government of Manitoba, a further  
" proof of the anxiety of Canada to secure the liberties and promote the improvement of  
" the North-West.

" The force now on its way to Manitoba by the Thunder Bay route, is commanded  
" by an Imperial officer, under the direct control of General Lindsay, and embraces a con-  
" siderable number of the troops of Her Majesty. It goes as an expedition of peace, to  
" establish on a secure basis the authority of the Queen, and to restore confidence amongst  
" all classes of Her Majesty's subjects, whose minds must have been much disturbed by  
" recent events.

" I enclose you a copy of His Excellency's speech at the close of the Session of Parlia-  
" ment, which I have no doubt you will peruse with pleasure and satisfaction.

" I have the honor to be, My Lord,

" Your Lordship's most obedient Servant,

(Signed;)

" JOSEPH HOWE,

" Secretary of State for the Provinces."

" The Right Reverend

" The Bishop of St. Boniface."

There was no British flag used in the country for some time previous to the move-  
ment.

When the Hudson's Bay Company did use a flag, it was not the British flag proper,  
it was a " Union Jack," with the letters " H. B. C." For two years, probably, previous to  
the movement, there was no British flag hoisted in the country, except the flag of Dr.  
Schultz, a " Union Jack," which had the word " Canada " upon it, and it was considered  
a party flag. Mr. Riel considered that if one man in the country had a right to raise a  
flag of his own, the same right extended to other men. The flag used by the Provisional  
Government was the French flag with the " Fleur de lis," to which was afterwards added  
the shamrock, so there was never any such thing as taking down the British flag at all,  
about which so much has been said.

On account of the letters " H. B. C." on the flag, it was considered the flag of the  
Company. It used to be the practice to fly this flag on Sundays, but for some months  
before the troubles this practice had ceased, and as far as I know this flag was not hoisted  
at all for some months. Schultz's flag was, as I understand, hoisted in opposition to the  
Hudson's Bay Company. I remained in the country until the 27th June following, and  
during that time I had frequent communication with the leaders of the movement, as  
already appears from the papers published. I had an important communication with  
them not long before that; on the 9th June.

There was some other correspondence, which, however, was not material to the question before the Committee, with the exception of a slight allusion to my conversation with the Government.

This letter of the 9th June was the next communication which is material to the question. I refer to the letter of the 9th June, from myself to Mr. Howe, which is as follows:—

(No. 14a.)

*Letter from Archbishop Taché to the Honorable Joseph Howe.*

“ ST. BONIFACE,  
“ RED RIVER SETTLEMENT,  
“ June 9th, 1870.

“ Hon. Joseph Howe,  
“ Secretary of State for the Provinces,  
“ Ottawa, Canada.

“ HONORABLE SIR,—I hasten to communicate to you, for the information of His Excellency in Council, a very important promise I have just made in the name of the Canadian Government. I feel all the responsibility I have incurred in taking such a step, while on another hand I am confident that His Excellency the Governor General and his Privy Council will not judge with too much severity an act accomplished in order to avoid great misfortunes and secure the welfare of the country.

“ In my last despatch, dated on the 28th May, I mentioned the satisfaction caused by the Liberal Bill erecting the Province of Manitoba. I also stated the uneasiness occasioned by the ignorance whether or not a general and complete amnesty had been granted. The two last mails having brought no information on this subject, that feeling of uneasiness has increased to such a degree that it gives apprehension about the maintenance of peace in the country.

“ Some speak of raising a large force to meet and molest the coming troops at some difficult point on their way hither; and other plans, perhaps still more dangerous, are also afloat.

“ Fortunately the Provisional Government has so far refused such resources, determined to await the arrival of the delegates. Owing to the good disposition of the Provisional Government, and in order to remove the dangers to which we are exposed, and which it would be too tedious to enumerate, I solemnly gave my word of honor, and promised even in the name of the Canadian Government that the troops are sent on a mission of peace; that all the irregularities of the past will be totally overlooked or forgiven; that nobody will be annoyed for having been either leader or member of the Provisional Government, or for having acted under its guidance. In a word, that a complete and entire amnesty (if not already bestowed) will surely be granted before the arrival of the troops, so that every one may remain quiet, and induce others to do the same.

“ Personally I felt no hesitation in giving such an assurance, because what I heard myself from the different members of the Cabinet at Ottawa, and what has been said by them in Parliament, has entirely convinced me that this promise of mine had been already issued, and that the delegates now on their way back will convey the most satisfactory information on that subject.

“ Should my views, unfortunately, have deviated from the real tendency of the Government, I humbly beg that my promise will be considered as sacred.

“ It is the privilege of His Excellency to forgive, and if forgiveness be considered necessary, I earnestly pray for it.

“ I dare flatter myself with the idea that I have done something in favor of the Canadian cause in this country; and I can assure the Government of my willingness to contribute, as far as in my power, to its prosperity; but, should I have promised in vain, besides the heartrending feeling I would personally experience, I would be pub-

"likely reputed a deceiver, or as having been wilfully deceived by the Canadian Government. An awful reaction would ensue, and who knows what would be the result.

"If necessary, I therefore humbly lay my request before His Excellency. It would be very easy to have it largely subscribed to by respectable names, but such an undertaking would have given rise to excitement, and it is my constant endeavor to quell such a feeling rather than nourish it, as it is the greatest danger to be apprehended.

"I am confident that although this is a personal act, it will be considered as the wish of the community at large and favorably granted."

"It is rumored that Dr. Schultz is coming with a large party of supporters. I am sure that if such be the case the Government has taken the necessary steps to prevent the coalition (?) which would be the consequence of his return perhaps with a desire to revenge the past, and renew the cause of by gone troubles.

"We are perfectly aware of his former conduct, and it is not difficult to foresee what he may be in future, if not checked by proper authority.

"I easily understand that at a distance my ideas may appear rather pressing, but allow me to say that here on the spot we are in a measure to ascertain the dangers and difficulties which may naturally seem chimerical when viewed from abroad.

"Experience has already proved that, unfortunately, our apprehensions are not always entirely groundless nor an effort of our imagination. So far it is universally considered as a wonder that nothing worse has happened. May the wisdom and liberality of the Government remove what seems to be the last difficulty.

"I consider this document of such importance that I am forwarding it by a special messenger to Pembina to secure its prompt delivery into your hands. No doubt you will be kind enough to answer me by the first mail.

"I remain, with much respect, honorable sir,

"Your humble servant,

"(Signed.)

ALEX.,

"Bishop of St. Boniface."

I had the communication described in this letter on the day I wrote the letter, and if you will allow me I will explain to you the reason. Parties arrived from the United States, who had interviews with the leaders of the Provisional Government, and these parties told them that they could not rely upon what had been promised; that the assurances given would not be carried into execution; and that in some way or another the politicians of Canada, when they took possession of the country, would refuse to be guided by that promise. They told the leaders that the troops were on their way, and if they allowed them to enter the country, they would control the position, bring the leaders before the tribunals, try them and hang them. These representations created a very strong feeling among the leaders, and one or two of them came to my place and reported what they had heard. I repeated the assurances I had given in the name of His Excellency the Governor General.

They answered that this was of itself all right, but it was not from the Canadians. Now the Canadian troops are on their way, they said, and they are under the control of Canada, and as we have given them cause for provocation, if we have not similar assurances from the Canadian Government, they may act in the manner represented to us. My statement before was, that I made the promise in the name of His Excellency the Governor General, as representative of the Queen; but I also added that such were the intentions of the members of the Canadian Cabinet. They had so little faith in the Canadian authorities, that I thought they would prefer to negotiate directly with the representative of the Sovereign. Indeed, I had this authority from the terms of the proclamation, as well as from the letter addressed to me by His Excellency, in which he told me that he was directed by the Imperial Government to issue the proclamation, and from the conversations I had, both with His Excellency and his Ministers, in which he and they told me that he was not acting in the name of the Canadian Government, but as special Commissioner from the Imperial authorities, I was also furnished with a



copy of the telegraphic message from England upon which that proclamation was based. The promise made in the name of the Canadian Government on the 9th of June differed in this respect, that it was made in the name of that Government from the former promise which was made in the name of His Excellency, and in my action I was guided by Sir John's letter of 16th February, but with the exception of its (being made in the name of the Canadian Government, the promise was itself exactly the same as I had made before. I thought it necessary to make it in the name of the Government of Canada, if the fears to which I have referred were to be dissipated; and I determined so to make it, because I had received information from Father Ritchot that the negotiations at Ottawa had been closed satisfactorily. As one portion of the negotiation was to get an entire and complete amnesty, I thought the Canadian Government would not object to the promise being made in their name. The promise which I made on my arrival in the name of the Governor General was equally extensive with that which I describe in this letter of 9th June. All the difference is that the one was made in the name of the Government of Canada, whereas the other was made in the name of the Governor General as the representative of the Queen. The answer of the Hon. Mr. Howe which has just been read, dated 27th May, to my letters of the 3rd and 7th of the same month, in which I also saw plainly the promise of forgiveness, determined me that there was no risk in making the promise in the name of the authorities of Canada. I had also shown that answer to some of the leaders, and I relied upon it as affording me the basis for giving the promise named in my letter; for you will observe that Mr. Howe tendered me in the name of His Excellency, not only his sympathy, but his warm acknowledgement, of my exertions in the cause of peace and moderation. I received a reply to that letter of the 9th June, but not until the 23rd of August.

This is accounted for by my leaving St. Boniface for Canada on the 27th June, and thus missing the letter, which was dated the 4th July, and arrived at my place after I had left, and which letter is as follows:—

(No. 14B.)

*Honorable Joseph Howe to Archbishop Taché.*

“ OTTAWA, 4th July, 1870.

“ MY LORD,—Your letter of the 9th of June, which reached me yesterday, has been laid before the Privy Council, and has received their consideration.

“ Your Lordship states that personally you felt no hesitation in giving, in the name of the Canadian Government, an assurance of a complete amnesty.

“ Your Lordship has no doubt read the debate and explanations which took place in Parliament during the discussion of the Manitoba Bill. The question of amnesty was brought forward, and the answers and explanations given by the Ministers in the House of Commons were that the Canadian Government had no power to grant such an amnesty, and that the exercise of the prerogative of mercy rested solely with Her Majesty the Queen.

“ The Rev. Father Ritchot and Mr. Scott must, on their arrival, have informed your Lordship that, in the repeated interviews which they had with Sir John A. Macdonald and Sir George E. Cartier, they were distinctly informed that the Government of the Dominion had no power as a Government to grant an amnesty; and I would add that this Government is not in a position to interfere with the free action of Her Majesty in the exercise of the Royal clemency.

“ Her Majesty's Imperial Ministers can alone advise the Queen on such an important matter, when called upon to do so. No doubt can be entertained that Her Majesty, advised by Her Ministers, will on a calm review of all the circumstances discharge the duty of this high responsibility in a temperate and judicial spirit.

“ The foregoing explanations are given to Your Lordship in order that it may be well understood that the responsibility of the assurance given by Your Lordship of a complete amnesty, cannot in any way attach itself to the Canadian Government.

"The conversations to which Your Lordship alludes as having taken place between Your Lordship and some Members of the Canadian Cabinet, when Your Lordship was in Ottawa about the middle of the month of February last, must necessarily have taken place with reference to the proclamation issued by His Excellency the Governor General, on the 6th December last, by command of Her Majesty, in which His Excellency announced that in case of their immediate and peaceable dispersion, he would order that no legal proceedings be taken against any parties implicated in these unfortunate breaches of the law at Red River.

"Though I have felt it my duty to be thus explicit in dealing with the principal subject of your letter, I trust I need not assure you that your zealous and valuable exertions to calm the public mind in the North-West are duly appreciated here, and I am confident that when you regard the obstructions which have been interposed to the adoption of a liberal and enlightened policy for Manitoba, you will not be disposed to relax your exertions until that policy is formally established.

"I have, &c.,

"(Signed),

JOSEPH HOWE.

"Right Reverend,

"The Bishop of St. Boniface,

"Red River."

Father Ritchot arrived at Fort Garry on the 17th of June, and immediately afterwards I had a long interview with him, when he reported to me all the circumstances connected with the visit of the delegation, and especially about the amnesty. In the latter respect he corroborated fully the statements I had made to the leaders, and he assured me further that there was a promise of full and complete amnesty given by the Governor General and Sir Clinton Murdoch, in the name of Her Majesty the Queen. The Canadian authorities, he said, had done all in their power to secure the amnesty, and they were in a position to assure the delegates, not only that it would be granted, but that it would arrive probably before they had returned home, certainly before the arrival of the Lieutenant Governor. These terms were communicated officially to the leaders of the Provisional Government, and also to the Legislative Assembly of the Colony of Assiniboia. The report was accepted, and a resolution was passed agreeing to enter Confederation upon those conditions. In the communication made to the Assembly of the transactions at Ottawa, there was included a representation such as I have already stated regarding the complete amnesty being promised in the name of the Queen, and so on. I suppose the Executive Council of the Provisional Government, kept a record of the deliberations of the Assembly upon this question, but I do not know, as I was not present. Some account of it will be found in the *New Nation* and other newspapers published at the time.

The members of the Assembly were elected by both the English and French population of the Colony of Assiniboia.

The result of affairs as they appeared to me before I started for Ottawa, consequent upon my assurances that an amnesty would be given, and Father Ritchot's corroborative statement was, that the fears of the leaders had been calmed, and they were willing to accept the offers of Canada to go into Confederation. Father Ritchot in his report told them that before leaving Ottawa he had inquired of Sir George Cartier, who was one of the negotiators, what was to be the position of the Provisional Government, and that Sir George had answered, "They are not to be discharged; let them keep peace and quietness in the country until the Governor has arrived." This was what Father Ritchot told the people, and it agreed perfectly with what Sir George Cartier afterwards stated to me that he had told him.

The communication of the delegates was not to the effect that arms were to be laid down at once. There really was no person to rule at that time but these people. None of the officials of the Hudson's Bay Company were there to do so, except a clerk, Governor McTavish having ere that time left the Province.

I produced an extract from a letter of Mr. J. H. McTavish to me, dated 31st July, 1870. (Mr. McTavish is the clerk of whom I have just spoken.)

No. 28.

*Extract of a letter from J. H. McTavish, Esq., to His Grace Archbishop Taché.*

"FORT GARRY, R.R.S.,

"31st July, 1870.

"MY LORD,—

"They entertain the hope that as soon as the troops arrive, martial law will be proclaimed, to be followed by the hanging of a few of the French party; such is their kind expectations. Knowing what I do of the intentions of the Canadian Government, and fully understanding those of the Provisional Government, I consider it highly advisable that Mr. Archibald should be on the spot, at least as soon as the troops.

"Whatever you may hear from others to the contrary, I feel confident that the Provisional Government are determined *coute que coute* to hand everything over quietly to the proper authorities, and in no case do I apprehend any rising on the part of the English or Indians.

"Wishing you a pleasant trip in, and trusting we may have a happy issue out of all our troubles,

"Believe me, my Lord,

"Most sincerely yours,

"(Signed), J. H. McTAVISH.

"The Right Reverend,

"The Lord Bishop

"Of St. Boniface.

"(En route.)"

The Council of Assiniboia acknowledged that the proclamation of Hon. Wm. McDougall destroyed their power in the country. I departed for Ottawa. I wished to make certain, to my own satisfaction, the promise made to the delegates, and report at Ottawa the satisfaction of the people. This was one of my objects in coming to Ottawa. The Council of Assiniboia was never, in terms, consulted as to whether they had given up their authority. Some of the members of that Council became members of the Provisional Government. For instance, the Secretary of State in the Provisional Government was clerk to, and member of, the Council. This man's name was Thomas Bunn. I arrived in Ottawa, as far as I can remember, about the 11th or 12th July. I then saw some of the members of the Government; only two I think. I remember Mr. Mitchell told me he had nothing to do with the negotiations with the delegates. Sir George Cartier was in Montreal, and Sir John A. Macdonald was sick and could not attend to business. So next morning I started for Montreal, where I saw Sir Geo. E. Cartier; I had many interviews with him, and I asked him if the report of Father Ritchot was correct, and he said it was. My letter, 9th June, had been received, and Sir Geo. Cartier said an official letter had been written to me in answer to it, and that he had written me a confidential letter on the subject. Sir George Cartier was aware of the contents of my letter of the 9th June. I was furnished with a copy of the letter Mr. Howe had addressed to me in reply on the 4th July. Sir George spoke to me of having a letter. It was strictly confidential. I beg to be allowed not to communicate its contents to the Committee; there is not much beyond the question of the North-West in the letter. It was marked strictly confidential, principally, I think, on account of the allusions it contained to the amnesty. I will leave it to the Committee as to whether I should produce the letter or not. In this letter Sir George

Cartier maintained the opinion of Mr. Howe, that the Canadian Government, as a Government, had no power to grant the amnesty. The conversations I had, in my former visit to Ottawa with members of the Government, and of which I have spoken, were not private. I was directed to communicate them to the people. The confidential letter contains references to the amnesty, and it contains a reference to my own promise made to the people of the North West. I do not recollect clearly enough to say as to whether allusion was made to the intention of the Government. I communicated, by letter, the result of this visit to Ottawa to the Chiefs of the Provisional Government. I made no positive assurance to them. I do not think I entered into details. I endeavored to leave on their minds the same impressions they entertained at the time of my departure. I produce a letter from Riel, dated 24th July, 1870, which was in reply to my earlier letters from Canada. I have not copies of my own letters; some of them have been published somewhere, but not the two to which Riel's is a reply.

(No. 29.)

*Letter from Mr. Riel to Bishop Taché.*

(Translation.)

"FORT GARRY,

"GOVERNMENT HOUSE, 24th July, 1870.

"To His Lordship Monseigneur Taché.

"My Lord,—I have had the honor of receiving two letters which your Lordship has written me; and I wish you to pardon me if I only answer them by Elzéar.

"At this moment everything is quiet enough here. May God make peace to continue. The Indians have visited us in great numbers; they are as hungry as grasshoppers. The treaties engage their attention. What prudence must be employed when dealing with these people!

"I send to Mr. Howe a telegram with express reference to their case, by the hands of Mr. Bannatyne, who leaves to-day for Scotland. If your Lordship should see Mr. Bannatyne, you might receive a few more particulars, even up to the time of his leaving St. Paul. We are making preparations for the arrival of the Governor. We shall endeavor to show him as many horsemen as possible.

"How severe a task have you not imposed upon yourself in going to that wicked Ottawa. We have friends there, good! but who can reckon the number of our enemies there? The only consolation to be found is to be a Christian, and to believe that no real harm can happen us so long as God is on our side. Whatever may happen, the soldiers and the Governor shall be received with enthusiasm! If we could be notified a little in advance of your arrival, a good number of men on horseback would set out to meet you farther out.

"Believe me to be, my lord,

"Your ever grateful child and servant,

"LOUIS RIEL,

"President.

"My profoundest respects to Mr. Archibald; we much desire his coming."

I got Sir George's letter, when I arrived at Fort Garry on 24th August, I found it at my place when I arrived. It was dispatched at the same time and reached my place at the same time as the official letter of 4th July. Sir Geo. Cartier had informed me of its contents. The tone of his conversation was in accordance with the contents of the letter, but he informed me had written something else.

MEMO.—It was decided by the Committee that the letter of Sir George E. Cartier, above referred to, should be produced, which letter is as follows:—

(No. 16.)

*Sir George E. Cartier to Archbishop Taché.*" (*Private and strictly confidential.*)

" OTTAWA, 5th July, 1870.

" MY LORD,—I must state to you at the outset that I owe your Lordship an apology for not having written to you sooner. The two letters your Lordship did me the honor of writing to me during *last Session* reached me in time, while Father Ritchot and the other *delegates* were in conference with me and my colleagues. If I did not answer you then, do not think, my Lord, that it was through a lack of deference and respect for your Lordship. I feared lest my letters should be intercepted, and I trusted to good Father Ritchot telling you in person after his return what I would not have liked to put on paper. I do not doubt but our friend Father Ritchot must have made to your Lordship a full and detailed report of all the difficulties which accompanied the mission of the delegates and the passing of the Bill for Manitoba. Happily all ended well in spite of the incessant action of prejudices and of all evil passions.

" I received your Lordship's letter of the 10th June last, and I have just received your last of the 18th of the same month, accompanied by a letter of good Father Ritchot of the same day. I am grateful to you, my Lord, for all your letters, and say to good Father Ritchot that I thank him for his last, as well as for his two preceding letters, he did me the pleasure of writing to me on his way to Fort Garry.

" In one of your letters to Mr. Howe, you stated that you had written to him more than six times and that you had received no answer. Mr. Howe is under the impression that several of your letters must have been intercepted, and that he did not receive so many letters from your Lordship. In one of your letters to Mr. Howe you stated also that I had said in the House that the Government had not had any report from you, although you had written several times to Mr. Howe and to myself. I did not wish to produce and lay before the House your correspondence, consisting only of letters disconnected the one from the other, and which if produced could not constitute a report made in the ordinary form to the Government. Hence it was that I said the Government had received no formal report from your Lordship, and at the time and in the state of minds then, it was better in order to ensure the success of the measure for Manitoba, to lay before the House as few documents as possible.

" This letter is written to you, my Lord, with the intention that it is to be strictly confidential, as I have to speak with you of the delicate question of the amnesty. You must be convinced from what you have seen in the newspapers, that Ontario and part of the Province of Quebec and of the Maritime Provinces are keenly opposed to an amnesty. But happily for the people of Red River the question of the amnesty rests with Her Majesty the Queen, and not with the Canadian Government. Father Ritchot must have explained to your Lordship all that relates to this matter, the petition he addressed to the Queen and the interviews he had with Sir John Young. If the amnesty rested with and were the province of the Canadian Government, composed with heterogeneous elements, it would be in great danger. But it is, I repeat, fortunate that it is Her Majesty, aided by the advice of Her Ministers, who will have to decide this question. Her Majesty has already, by the proclamation of the 6th December last, which She caused to be issued by Sir John Young, so to speak, promised an amnesty. This fact was mentioned in Father Ritchot's petition to the Queen. I must now intimate to you that the surest way of securing this amnesty is that the whole population of Red River should accept the new order of things. It would be well that your Lordship, the Anglican Bishop, all those who figured in the Provisional Government, and all the notables of Red River, should offer a hearty welcome to Mr. Archibald, your new Governor, and to the military expedition.

" The Queen will perhaps await this result before making known her clemency. The expedition is an expedition of peace, and the Quebec battalion comprises a large number

" of your friends, amongst others Father Ritchot. The soldiers will not be instruments of Dr. Schultz or any one else, to arrest or drag to prison any person whomsoever. Remember that your laws and your procedure are not changed, and that it is only in virtue of your laws and of your procedure that any person can be disturbed or interfered with.

" I am very glad to see, by your last letter and by Father Ritchot's, that the population seem inclined to receive the Governor well. It would be a great mistake, and show a lack of wisdom if the Canadian half-breeds, on the arrival of the Governor and the troops, were to leave all the demonstrations of loyalty to be made by the English and Scotch half-breeds. This would place the Canadian half-breeds in the same false position as the Lower Canadians were formerly placed in after the political troubles.

" The Canadian half-breeds must shew themselves more loyal than any. I shall most anxiously await your next letter and that of Father Ritchot, as to the steps you shall have decided to take, in order to give a good reception to your new Governor.

" Note the fact that copies of all your letters received here have been sent by Sir John Young to Lord Granville, in order to shew the position of the amnesty question, if it should happen, which I do not apprehend, that opposition were offered on the arrival of the troops and of the new Governor, those who took part in it would incur the risk of finding themselves excluded from the amnesty Her Majesty may have in view, and which she will sooner or later make known. I must state to you that your letter of 9th June last to Mr. Howe, relative to the amnesty, caused a little fear and dismay amongst several of my colleagues, who stand in fear and dread of public opinion in Ontario and other parts of the Dominion on this question.

" To dispel these fears, Mr. Howe, yesterday, addressed you an official reply, with a view to set them at rest. This reply explains that the question of amnesty does not rest with the Canadian Government, but with the Queen, and that the responsibility for the assurance you have given must rest on Your Lordship. In order to shew you the excitement of certain minds (and the number of such is very great) on the question of amnesty, I enclose you an extract from the *Globe* and from the *Daily News* of Montreal. You will see that it is fortunate that the exercise of clemency is in the hands of our Gracious Sovereign. Unfortunately, the violent Protestant newspapers renders Your Lordship responsible for every thing that appears or is announced in the *Nouveau Monde*. It would have been better that the amnesty question should not have been discussed, but that it should have been left to be settled between the Queen and the people of Red River.

" Excuse this long and hastily written letter. Remember me to good Father Ritchot and Mr. Scott, the delegate, and believe me

" My Lord,

" Your Lordship's most humble,

" Obedient servant and friend,

(Signed,)

" GEO. ET. CARTIER."

In my conversation with him I questioned Sir George Cartier about Father Ritchot's report. I stated as fully as possible what Father Ritchot had told me, and Sir George Cartier said that is exactly what has taken place. Directly afterwards I said to Sir George Cartier, that Father Ritchot had stated to me that when he was with the delegates of the Government, Sir John A. Macdonald and Sir George Cartier, who had been appointed to negotiate with the delegates of the North-West, he brought forward the 19th clause of the Bill of Rights, and stated it was the *sine qua non* of an agreement between them and the Canadian Government. The delegates of the Government answered the North-West delegates, that the thing would be settled afterwards, and that it was the privilege of Her Majesty the Queen, and not for the Canadian Government to grant an amnesty. The delegates of the Provisional Government replied, "We are come to treat with you, and are to decide with you what course is to be taken." Then Sir George Cartier or Sir John A. Macdonald said: "We will show you how to proceed to obtain what you require." "No," replied Mr. Ritchot, "I am to deal with nobody but

"you. If you are not in a position to decide the whole matter, I will go home. I came to settle the difficulty with the Government, and having received my instructions, I cannot proceed except the proposals are in accordance with the instructions I have received." Then the delegates of the Government answered Mr. Ritchot and the other delegates of the North-West, that they were in a position to guarantee the granting of an amnesty, and to assure them that the amnesty would be proclaimed, and would reach the country before they did. They further said that they would wait till the passing of the bill they were going to prepare, before they made the proclamation.

The delegates from the North-West considered there was nothing further to be done upon this point. That is what I reported to Sir George as having been the statement of Father Ritchot to the people of Manitoba. Sir George said: "That is true; the thing has not been changed. We are waiting for the proclamation every day, and if you remain for a few weeks, it will arrive before you leave." Then Sir George Cartier insisted on my going to Niagara, where he told me the Governor General was. He said: "You will see the Governor General, and he will give you the same assurance." I said, "I cannot go to Niagara. I have only two or three weeks to remain in Canada, and I have business to attend to for my diocese. Besides I will take your word. I do not want any more negotiations." He insisted on my going to Niagara to see the Governor General. As far as I can recollect it was on the 15th July this happened in Montreal. Sir George Cartier told me to be in Ottawa the next Monday, and that on the Tuesday we would proceed to Niagara along with Mr. Archibald, who had been appointed Lieutenant Governor of Manitoba. I came to Ottawa, and Sir George told me he was not ready to leave that day, and that we would leave on Wednesday. On Wednesday morning we started from Ottawa. Sir John A. Macdonald was sick, and I did not meet him while in Ottawa. We took the boat at Prescott, and when we arrived at Kingston telegrams were handed to Sir George Cartier stating that there was great excitement in Toronto, and that the people were preparing to insult him because he was travelling with the traitor Bishop Taché.

I saw there was difficulty in the way, and I offered to go back. I did not fear being insulted myself, but I did not like to be the cause of his being insulted. I said, "If you have no objection, I will go back to Montreal; I did not desire to go to Niagara." Sir George replied: "I am ready to face them, and will proceed." After leaving Kingston some little deliberation took place, and Sir George came to me and said: "Perhaps it would be better not to appear together in Toronto." I said: "I am ready to land in some port in the United States if you think proper." This proposition was agreed to, and I landed at Oswego. I then went to Buffalo, and agreed to meet Sir George Cartier at Niagara on Saturday. On Saturday morning I left Buffalo and went to Niagara. When I arrived there Sir George looked very uneasy. He told me indignation meetings had taken place in Toronto, and had given His Excellency a good deal of uneasiness. Sir George further stated that His Excellency seemed to be reluctant to speak upon these matters. I said: "I may go back now; you know I had no desire to come here." Sir George, however, said: "You must see the Governor." After waiting a little Sir George came back and said the Governor was ready to receive me. On going to His Excellency's room I found him standing near the door. He shewed great reluctance to speak about these matters. Before I opened my mouth he said: "I suppose you did not come here to talk about politics?" I said: "I am satisfied that you are aware of the nature of my journey. I started from Montreal, not according to my own wishes, but at the request of your own Minister. I suppose Sir George told you what I came about?" He replied: "There is a good deal of trouble connected with these matters, and I do not like to speak about them." I said: "Your Excellency, if you are not ready to speak upon the subject, I am willing to withdraw." He then shewed me a chair, and began to talk about the Red River affairs. Naturally I drew His Excellency's attention to the question of the amnesty. After again expressing his reluctance to speak upon this question, he pointed to his proclamation of 6th Dec., which was lying open on the table, and said: "Here is my proclamation; it covers the whole case." He also

said, "See Sir George Cartier; he knows my views upon the subject, and he will tell you all." I then left His Excellency. Sir George saw him, and I then had an interview with Sir George. He told me he was sorry he could give me no further explanation than that he had already given me. I took it for granted that what Sir George Cartier had told me in Montreal was the exact truth. I then spoke to Sir George of the necessity of sending some information to the Red River, because the newspapers were denying that an amnesty would be granted. I knew perfectly well this would cause uneasiness and anxiety at Fort Garry, and provoke some bad result. So together we framed a telegram, expecting it would quiet the minds of the people in case uneasiness existed. The telegram was despatched. I do not remember the wording of it, but it led them to understand that the promise that had been made had not been changed. That telegram was addressed to Father Lestanc by myself. I visited Niagara on 23rd July. Before leaving His Excellency he asked me to let him have in writing some of the remarks I had made to him. I left Niagara the same day and stayed at Hamilton. The same day I wrote a letter to His Excellency, which has since been published, and of which I produce a copy dated 23rd July 1870.

(No. 15.)

*Letter from His Grace Archbishop Taché to His Excellency the Governor General of Canada.*

"To His Excellency Sir John Young,  
Governor General of Canada:

"HAMILTON, 23rd July, 1870.

"May it please Your Excellency to allow me to communicate the following observations relative to the Red River difficulties.

"1st. I desire to resent the odious calumnies lavished on me in certain newspapers. I protest before God and before men against those accusations. The part I took in the Red River troubles consists merely in the pain they cause me; in the efforts made, to the best of my judgment, to quell them; and, in the desire to see the whole concur to consolidate the noble institutions by which we are governed, by forming a closer and indissoluble union between Canada—the land of my birth—and the North-West—that of my adoption.

"2nd. I regret as much as any one the deplorable deeds perpetrated; nevertheless, I dare affirm that it is impossible to form an impartial judgment of the same without being acquainted with all the circumstances that have given rise to them, and such information it is very difficult for outsiders to obtain. Three men lost their lives during the troubles,—the first I may say accidentally, since Parisien, who shot him, was not sound in mind. Parisien himself, arrested before the sad event by the so-called "Loyal Party," was afterwards killed by them, or rather left for dead, and in fact died in consequence of the horrible treatment they had inflicted on him. No mention is made of the death of these two men, but instead, some of those who most largely contributed to the death of the latter, thinking thereby to display their loyalty, loudly called to revenge the last victim, the unfortunate Thomas Scott. Any one acquainted with the events is less astonished at the death of Scott than at the fact of there being but one victim in insurgent quarters. This fact clearly proves that the armed party was neither blood-thirsty nor actuated by a revengeful spirit.

"3rd. I have no desire to accuse any one, but if punishment is to be inflicted on the most guilty and rebellious, it might be deserved by some of those who are exalted as the champions of loyalty, duty, and honor.

"4th. If deplorable acts can have an atonement, I find it in the very conduct of the leaders of the insurrectional movement of Red River. The movement was never intended to be against allegiance to Great Britain. The British flag was never taken down, and the Fenian banner was never hoisted, notwithstanding the assertion of the contrary in newspapers.

"The Fenians, as a body, only met refusal or silence when they offered their co-opera-



"tion. Outside of the Fenian associations, the Provisional Government of Red River has repudiated offers that might have seduced its members had the sentiment of allegiance not prevailed; sums of money amounting to more than four millions of dollars (\$4,000,000), men and arms, had been offered, and the whole was refused by these 'rebels,' whom it is proposed to get hanged by the expedition, after they had refused the help offered to determine them to attack it.

"5th. The last and most important of the observations I take the liberty to lay before Your Excellency is relative to the amnesty in favor of those who have taken a part in the illegal and criminal acts which, in one way or another were committed during the painful period of the Red River disturbances. Notwithstanding the accusations thrown against me, I venture to say that I have largely contributed to the pacification of Red River, and I have thereby averted complications that would have entailed the most deplorable results. In this I have only accomplished my duty as a citizen and pastor; and I would leave the fact unmentioned were it not to throw more light on what I have to add.

"The promise of an amnesty has largely contributed to obtain the result secured: had I had not been convinced myself that an amnesty would be granted; had I not brought the people to partake of my conviction, the mission entrusted to me by the Government of Your Excellency would certainly not be crowned with the success obtained. Guided by what I had heard at Ottawa; by this Proclamation of Your Excellency of the 6th of December; by the letter of Sir John A. Macdonald, dated 16th February; alarmed by the danger of desperate resistance and of foreign intervention, persuaded that Our Gracious Sovereign would easily pardon Her subjects that had erred because too highly provoked; seeing 'irregularities on all sides,'—I thought myself justifiable in giving a positive and solemn assurance that a complete pardon would be granted. I then promised it. I may have done wrong, but I cannot believe it; my opinion being that of all those I have heard speaking coolly on this irritating question.

"It seems to me that an act of clemency is not too much when the peace of a country is at stake. At present this act becomes necessary to restore confidence, without which it is almost impossible to govern the immense territory of the North-West. Without this act of mercy, the country may be exposed to renewed and disastrous commotions. If amnesty is not granted I will be considered by some as having imposed upon the people, and will perhaps only have prepared a fearful reaction; others, who will never suspect my sincerity, will easily believe that I have been deceived by the Canadian Government. I will go so far as to say that really I would have been deceived, for it is impossible to understand otherwise what was told me at Ottawa.

"If an 'indignation meeting' called by the 'loyal inhabitants' of Toronto is sufficient to give a direction to the settlement of affairs at Red River, every one will easily admit that it is impossible for us to expect liberal measures, or even the most elementary justice. I easily understand the pressure brought upon the authorities at Ottawa by such demonstrations, inspired by party spirit, rather than by 'horror of crime,' but I appeal to the tribunal of Our Gracious Sovereign; may the feeble voice of an humble but submissive and devoted subject reach Her Throne. I feel satisfied that the Royal clemency will be guided by generosity. I therefore rely on the amnesty; of course the Canadian Government cannot proclaim it, but if Our Gracious Sovereign be pleased to grant it, Your Excellency may rest assured that it will be a guarantee of success for the administration of the Lieutenant Governor of Manitoba, and that it will command the respectful sympathy of an entire people.

"Deign Your Excellency to make an allowance for the precipitation with which I had to write, and believe in the complete and entire devotedness of one who is, with profound respect,

"Your Excellency's

"Most humble and obedient Servant,

"(Signed.)

ALEXANDER,

"Bishop of St. Boniface."

I will take the liberty of observing that the letter referred merely to the more explicit expression as to the granting of the amnesty.

On the Monday following, 25th July, I wrote another letter to His Excellency on Red River affairs, of which I produce a copy. Of neither letter did I receive an acknowledgment, although I observe part of them are published in a pamphlet by Mr. Sulte, Sir George's Secretary, as I recollect :

(No. 15A.)

*Bishop Taché to Sir John Young.*

(Translation.)

" HAMILTON, 25th July, 1870.

" To His Excellency Sir John Young,

" Governor General of the Dominion of Canada.

" Permit me to submit to Your Excellency the views of the inhabitants of the Province of Manitoba on the subject of a protective force regularly organized, and under the control of the local authorities.

" I feel that I can state with perfect certainty that all the inhabitants of the Province of Manitoba, without distinction of origin or belief, are most anxious that a garrison of a couple of hundred men at the least should be sent to and left to the Province, not merely for a few weeks only, but for a more considerable period of time. The want of this protection has long been felt. Without this help the new Government will be as powerless as the old in carrying out the law, which has no other support but the moral sentiment of the people. After the withdrawal of the Royal Canadian Rifles, which corps left Fort Garry in 1861, the Government and Council of Assiniboia never ceased to ask from the mother country a protection absolutely necessary under the circumstances. That protection has always been refused, and to this refusal, are, in a great part, owing the events which have occurred within the past few months. To-day the want of a military garrison is more urgent than ever, for the following reasons :—

" 1st. Dissensions, which it is hard to describe, have wrought the Indian tribes up to a state of excitement such, that the massacre of the white population would be, so to speak, but a natural result. The treaties to be made with the Indians necessitate the presence of troops ; otherwise, the Government would be liable to be made the sport of these Indians who will necessarily lose their friendly dispositions when dealing with settlers, according as they see their lands taken up. The 'loyalty' of the Indians is a word void of sense, except for those who do not know them, and there is no reasonable ground for relying on that noble sentiment.

" 2nd. The political troubles have sown in the North-West the seeds of dissension. Without the presence of troops there is every reason to fear acts of personal vengeance, followed by terrible reprisals, with the risk of precipitating the new Province into a fresh disaster greater still than that it has just undergone. This feeling, which may appear groundless to outsiders, is so strong in the Province that great uneasiness has arisen at the mere thought that Canadian volunteers were to form part of the expedition ; so much so, that there would be real grounds for alarm if it were known that the regular troops were soon to be recalled. Far from dreading the presence of the regular troops, every one is anxious for it, but every thinking man in the Province is convinced that the departure of the troops, more particularly in view of the presence of the volunteers, is fraught with future danger.

" 3rd. The insurgent party have become habituated to success ; they have learned that boldness forms an element in political affairs, and if at any subsequent time they feel themselves aggrieved, fresh attempts may very possibly be made, as it is possible that the new-comers, or the parties humiliated, may attempt to assume an attitude of superiority, and thus, by wounding susceptibility, produce the most deplorable results. The presence of a couple of companies of regular troops will suffice, but seems necessary for the mainte

"niance of law and order; so that general tranquillity may be restored, that confidence may again prevail, that true harmony may once more exist amongst all classes of citizens, and that the new elements may mingle with our present population without trouble and without commotion.

"These remarks I take the liberty of respectfully submitting to Your Excellency, assuring you that no man of sense in Red River thinks otherwise.

"With sentiments of profound respect,

"Your Excellency's

"Most obedient humble servant,

"(Signed,) ALEXANDER,

"Bishop of St. Boniface, O.M.I."

A little while after the interview with the Governor, while conversing with several gentlemen, the private secretary of His Excellency, Mr. Turville, gave a hint that I heard for the first time, which, was that very likely a distinction must be made between some of those concerned in the Red River difficulties. I drew the attention of Sir George Cartier to this observation of Mr. Turville's. I took him aside, and said: "What is the meaning of this?" Sir George Cartier replied, "Mr. Turville is a nice man, but he knows nothing about these matters, so you need not be uneasy about what he says." That satisfied me that the amnesty had not been withdrawn, but the statement gave me a little uneasiness on that point. So afterwards, when I again met Sir George, I again spoke about Mr. Turville's observation, when he gave me about the same answer, and assured me there was no danger to be apprehended for any one of those concerned in the troubles. He also assured me that the amnesty would come soon, and that it would be of an absolute and general character. I stopped at Hamilton on the Sunday, and on Monday about noon the train arrived. Sir George Cartier, it was understood, was on the train. We went to Toronto together. Sir George remained in Toronto. I proceeded to Montreal. From Hamilton to Toronto we talked all the time about the Red River difficulties, and he in no way contradicted what had been before said. I do not remember having any further conversation with any members of the Government. I wrote to Sir George from Montreal. There was nothing material in the letter. I heard several parties in Montreal state that I could not rely on the promise that had been made, so I wrote to Sir George and informed him of what I had heard. He replied telling me to be quiet, and saying that there was no difficulty about this. I have not a copy of this last letter. Before I left Montreal I telegraphed to Sir George Cartier, saying I feared I was deceived in the matter from what I had heard from other parties, who warned me that I had better not trust to the assurances of politicians, and one of them suggested that I should see General Lindsay, whom he said I might trust. I had heard nothing from the other members of the Government upon this. I had a conversation with General Lindsay during which he stated that the expedition sent to Red River was not only an expedition of peace but that it had nothing to do at all with the movement which had taken place the winter before. He said it was merely the movement of troops from one place to another, as from Quebec to Montreal, and so forth. Two days after that interview with General Lindsay I was with Mr. Archibald at the St. Lawrence Hall. General Lindsay came there, and I offered to retire when he came to the room. "No," said he, "remain, because I am going to speak about the affairs of your country, and I would like you to hear what I am going to say to Lieut. Governor Archibald." General Lindsay said the expedition was proceeding a little quicker than they had lately expected, and would reach Fort Garry sooner than anticipated. General Lindsay said: "You must hurry your departure in order to arrive before the troops, because Wolseley will be embarrassed, as no provision has been made for the government of the territory in case he arrives before you." It was Mr. Hopkins who stated he had received despatches from the officer in charge of Fort William, that everything was ready, and he had to start at once. General Lindsay offered Mr. Archibald two officers of the staff of General Wolseley. He said: "If you have no objection, I will write to General

"Wolseley to detail two of the officers of his staff to accompany you." I answered that there was no fear, and that it was understood that Governor Archibald would arrive at Fort Garry previous to the troops. I also said, either before or after General Lindsay withdrew, that there was no fear of any resistance, as the whole matter had been settled. General Lindsay retired, and Mr. Archibald asked me to help him to arrive as soon as possible at Fort Garry. I received instructions to send men and horses ahead to meet the Governor at the North-West Angle, so as to avoid a long journey going down the River Winnipeg. I did so, but it was too late. Mr. Archibald was unable to find the place where he was to have met the men. This was the last information I received about Red River before I left Montreal for Red River. I communicated with the people in Red River, but there was no new communication on the subject of the amnesty. It was always a repetition of the same thing. I wrote a letter from Hamilton to Riel, which was found in Fort Garry on the arrival of the troops, and which has been published as I have before mentioned. As far as I can recollect, there was no direct allusion to the amnesty in this letter. Sir George Cartier knew I was to write to Riel. He led me to understand that nothing new had transpired, and that I might rely on the promise which had been made. I left for Red River I think on August 8th, and arrived on August 23rd. On my arrival I enquired about that letter of Sir George Cartier's of 5th July, which I have spoken of, and found Father Lestanc, who had received the letter during my absence, had opened it and communicated its contents to Mr. Riel.

I cannot say when Father Lestanc received it. I may have heard, but I have forgotten. I did not learn that this letter had been communicated to any other person up there save Riel. I think I have said to some persons that I was advised by Sir George Cartier to induce the members of the Provisional Government to go and meet the troops of the Canadian Government, and that that was a proof that he knew that the amnesty had been at least promised. I arrived at Fort Garry on August 23rd. Soon after my arrival some members of the Provisional Government crossed over to my place at St. Boniface. They began to talk about the difficulties in which the country was involved; and I represented to them that there was not the slightest danger for them, that my conversations with the civil and military authorities had convinced me that there was not the slightest danger, in fact that the 19th clause of the articles submitted by Father Ritchot and the other delegates had been accepted. I think they were still in my house when some one came and reported that the troops had arrived at the mouth of the Red River. At first I hardly believed this, because it was so soon, from what I heard in Canada, for the arrival of the troops. The report which was spread over the country proved to be true. The next report was that they had not only arrived at the mouth of the river, but that they had also passed Lower Fort Garry. I may perhaps observe that the British flag was floating over Fort Garry. I heard that some one had been dispatched to ascertain if it was a fact that the troops had arrived, and that the Provisional Government had since sent a man to see if they were coming up, and it was reported that the troops had arrived. It proved true. Part of the expedition, the Canadian Militia were behind, and it was only the regulars that had come up. In the course of the night Riel himself went to ascertain where they were. He found that they were camped within a few miles of Fort Garry. It has been reported that there was an intention to resist. I may contradict that statement, because there was only ten or twelve men in the Fort the day I arrived, and three or four of them were invalided and old and unable to make any resistance. I am satisfied that there was not the slightest intention to resist. Some persons came to the Fort that evening, but they were chiefly persons who came to see me at my place on my arrival, and for purposes of conversation, without the least notion of resistance. Mr. Royal and Mr. Girard were among the visitors.

During the night the rain poured very heavily, and they took down the British flag on that account that morning. I had myself seen it flying the previous evening. I was in my house in the morning when I saw horsemen coming at full speed, and I saw it was Mr. Riel, O'Donohoe, and two others, who were not members of the Provisional Government. They came to my house, and I asked them what news they had. They said the

troops were just approaching the fort. I opened the door, and saw that the troops were approaching the fort. I said "You have left the fort." Riel replied: "Yes, we have fled for life, because it appears we have been deceived." "Why," said I. He replied: "Because no later than last evening we were told by Your Lordship that there was no fear, and this morning a gentleman arrived at Fort Garry, who told us we had to leave at the risk of our lives." He said: "If you do not leave the fort it is an actual fact that you will be killed." They at once left the fort, leaving some of their things behind them. They said: "Rather than run the risk of being killed or murdered, we prefer to leave the fort previous to the arrival of the troops." Two or three members of the Provisional Government who left by another door, were arrested by some members of the expedition, but were released as soon as Colonel Wolseley was made aware of the facts, as the Colonel himself told me.

James G. Stewart (called Colonel), is the person who advised the members of the Provisional Government to leave Fort Garry, and he was supposed by those in Fort Garry to be an officer, but it was afterwards found that he was not.

I had other communications with members of the Canadian Government on the subject, after the troops arrived. I was surprised at the course that was taken. I found it entirely contrary to what I was told to expect. I wrote several letters to the Government on the subject. I wrote to Sir George Cartier especially. He was one of the members of the Government who had to negotiate with the delegates of the Provisional Government, and was the member of the Canadian Government with whom I was most acquainted. I received an answer on November 2nd, marked "Confidential." Of this letter I produce a copy, which is as follows:—

(No. 17.)

(Translation.)

"[Confidential.]

"MONTREAL, 2nd November, 1870.

"MY LORD,—I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your Lordship's last letter, and of those preceding it. It is evident to me, from the tone, more particularly of your last letter, that your good heart has bled with grief since the arrival of the military expedition. Wolseley's stupid proclamation, the murder of Goulet, and other facts and circumstances were more than sufficient to fill your heart with sadness. You must have seen, by the Montreal papers and others here, how much this proclamation of Wolseley's has been censured. The estimate formed here of that proclamation, as well as of those who contributed to the violent death of poor Goulet, has been made known in England.

"As to the question of amnesty, I regret with you that the Queen should delay the expression of her will in the matter. I hope, nevertheless, that sooner or later the amnesty will be proclaimed. It is quite probable that in England they wish to await the effect of the new political regime of your Province before considering the question of amnesty. I have no doubt whatever but that in England they will appreciate the peaceful conduct of Riel and of his fellow exiles in a foreign country, and that that conduct will greatly help to set the amnesty question in a favorable light in England. The peaceable conduct of Riel and of his friends greatly disappoint the violent in Ontario. The latter would have liked that Riel and his friends should have been guilty of excess in order to justify their violence. But their violence will soon die out for want of food. A little patience, my Lord, and moderation on the part of the leaders of the French half-breeds will re-establish order in all things before very long. Tell your people to be at their post in order to make good elections for your local House and the House of Commons. I am writing a line to friend Girard in relation to the choice of two Senators for Manitoba. We shall soon have to deal with this choice here. I should like to know your views, my Lord, in this matter, if you would be so good as to make them known to me. Be so good as to confer with your Governor and Girard about it. I am glad to inform you that friend Cyril Graham is to sail for Canada to-morrow, and that he goes to spend

"the winter with you at Fort Garry, in some capacity under the Hudson's Bay Company. Archibald, Graham, Johnson, and you, my Lord, should; it seems to me, complete the work of pacification in your Province." God grant it may be so.

"Permit me, my Lord, while thanking you for your good letters, to subscribe myself

"Your Lordship's

"Humble and obedient servant,

"(Signed,) GEO. ET. CARTIER."

There were further communications between myself and Sir George. I wrote many letters, all private, but seldom got an answer about the amnesty. I produce an extract of the material part of a letter of Sir George, of date December 7th, 1870, as follows:—

(No. 18.)

(Translation.)

"OTTAWA, December 7th, 1870."

"To His Lordship Bishop Taché,

"Bishop of St. Boniface,

"Fort Garry, Manitoba.

"MY LORD,—I write with much pleasure these few lines, which will be delivered to you by our friend, Mr. Cyril Graham, with whom you are well acquainted, and who is going to pass the winter at Fort Garry, entrusted by the Hudson's Bay Company with some special duty. It is a fortunate coincidence that under the special circumstances of your new political regime, Mr. Graham returns to you at Red River. I think that his presence there during the coming winter will greatly contribute to model the new order of things in accordance with your wishes. Your Lordship may in perfect confidence communicate to him your ideas and your wishes, and will find that it has not been misplaced. I hope that our friend, Governor Archibald, has given your Lordship the necessary explanations with regard to the appointment of St. John, of which you speak in the letter dated 29th October, which your Lordship did me the honor to address to me. I write a few lines on this subject to the Governor. The amnesty question is still under consideration in England, and I am in hopes that sooner or later it will be granted. I am glad that Riel and his fellow exiles are conducting themselves in an irreproachable manner in the United States. I leave them now for Quebec, to attend the Quebec Parliament. I hope that your elections will be good. Please remember me to Father Ritchot, and present Mr. Graham to him; the latter is very anxious to make his acquaintance. Father Ritchot's reception of the Governor, gave me, and all friends here, great pleasure.

"Believe me, my Lord,

"Your humble servant and faithful friend,

"(Signed,) GEORGE ET. CARTIER."

On 6th May, 1871, I addressed a letter to Sir George, of which I produce an extract of the material part. It was never answered, although I know that it was received, from subsequent conversations with Sir George.

(No. 19.)

*Bishop Taché to Sir G. E. Cartier.*

(Translation.)

"ST. BONIFACE, 6th May, 1871.

"Sir G. E. Cartier,

"HONORABLE AND DEAR SIR,—I have not written to you for a long time, in daily expectation of having such news to send you as would enable me to write in an agreeable strain, if not as to the manner, at least as to the matter. I regret being this day under the

"necessity of taking up my pen to give pain. The promise of amnesty had been formal and positive, and yet a whole year has not sufficed for the execution of that promise. This fact appears to me inexplicable, I had almost said indescribable. And this is aggravated by the fact that patience and good faith have been exhibited to the very utmost extent possible by the poor half-breeds. You do not know all the affronts, privations, and even bad treatment we have endured. Amidst all this, we have kept the profoundest silence, and we have refrained from making known, *even to our friends*, what was taking place here, in order not to create difficulties for the Ottawa Government. We have restrained our people and accepted many humiliations, rather than embarrass the Government of Manitoba. And what happens to us after all this, in the matter now in question? Permit me to state frankly, I have read with pain in the debates in Parliament that you yourself made use of expressions far more severe than those used last year. Moreover, you attribute to the Courts of Manitoba a jurisdiction you assured me was far beyond them. There is found in your words all that is needed to excite the scoundrels we have here to attempt prosecutions which are truly calculated to plunge the country again into the difficulties from which we have not yet escaped. Why not state squarely and frankly that the past, that which does not fall within the jurisdiction of Ottawa, is still less within the powers of Manitoba created by Ottawa? How can the authorities here be invested with a power which you have not? For my part I assure you that I am deeply afflicted. I have spared neither pains, nor fatigue, nor expense, nor humiliation to re-establish order and peace, and it has come to this, that I am to receive from my people the cruel reproach that I have shamefully deceived them. Every week the newspapers of Ontario, and the "Montreal Witness," drag my name through the mire, while the organs of the Government have taken care to offer in my behalf but a most superficial defence. For my part I have kept silence the more scrupulously in order not to cause difficulty; but I must say that if the amnesty is not forthcoming very soon—if, above all, the Manitoba Government permit certain arrests to be made (as they seem disposed to do), then I shall speak out before the public; I shall say what I know, what was said to me, and what was written to me. It is bad enough to be reviled by one's enemies; I cannot suffer that my people should suspect me of having betrayed them. If we must be unhappy we shall be unhappy together. I can suffer with those who are confided to me, provided I enjoy their confidence; under their contempt I cannot live, because I can no longer serve them. After a painful illness consequent on his sufferings and privations, Riel returned to his home, three days ago. He is still suffering, ill and exhausted. His friends and even his former political adversaries, are calling to see him in crowds. So soon as this news is known amongst the Ontario people they will commence the excitement again. You pay (N. N.) and others, who were the only real authors of our troubles, who killed three citizens of Red River, Parisien, Goulet and Farmer, and you treat as murderers those who, in order to protect themselves, had the misfortune to make one victim, the unfortunate Scott. You know to a certainty that two soldiers took part in the drowning of poor Goulet. These men are in the ranks; they are known, and yet there is nothing, absolutely nothing, about this crime committed after the transfer! The list would be long were I to enumerate everything reprehensible, done with impunity, since. And now in the face of the most solemn promise, one of the unfortunate matters which preceded the transfer, is raked up, whilst others, quite as much to be regretted, are left in oblivion. Why have two weights and two measures in the matter? Because the fanatics make a great out-cry, while we have had the discretion to hold our peace. Think of the excitement we might have created in Lower Canada, if we had stated all we knew; if we had made known all that has been done. You have influence enough to secure the fulfilment of the promise made; compel those who made that promise to keep it, and we shall have peace. I am aware of the pain my words are calculated to give you; but on the other hand, I know that it is better to prevent evils than to have to remedy them. You must excuse me, my heart is too full to write properly. The truth is I shall not be satisfied or even relieved until I have written the history of the transfer of

"the North-West to the Dominion of Canada. Inasmuch as the amnesty is to my mind the clue of this whole mystery, I am still waiting to see in what key I must intone my song.

"Accept the homage of my respect and sincere and entire devotedness."

"Yours &c., &c.,

"ALEX.,

"Bishop of St. Boniface."

"True copy except the parenthesis (N. N.)

"A. A. FORGET DESPATIS,

"Secy. to H. G. Mgr. TACHÉ,

"Ottawa, April 22, 1874."

In the month of November or December, 1871, I stated to Sir George Cartier that I now felt I had been deceived. I said the promise of the amnesty had been a positive and an absolute one, without any restriction whatever. He acknowledged this, but in the meantime said "There are such difficulties in the way that you must make up your mind to wait, but I hope you will not have to wait long." This was a verbal communication. I met Sir John A. Macdonald in the last part of November, 1871. I saw Sir George Cartier in Quebec, Montreal, and different other places in November and December. When I spoke to Sir John A. Macdonald on the subject he never denied that the amnesty had been promised, but he said "No Government could stand on that question." I told him there had been promises of amnesty frequently, and he did not deny the statement. He repeated that no Government could stand that would endeavour to procure the amnesty. I produce a letter I wrote to Sir John A. Macdonald on 25th January, 1873, to which I received no reply. His letter mentioned in mine did not touch on the subject of the amnesty.

(No. 20.)

"ST. BONIFACE, January 25th, 1873.

"DEAR SIR JOHN,—I have just received your favour of the 24th December, and beg to thank you for the trouble you have taken in answering my letters, and the agreeable manner in which you try to soothe the unpleasant feeling naturally experienced by me on learning that you still defer the accomplishment of what I expected. You know that I am accustomed to a rough school, so you will not be astonished at the frank expression of the said feeling.

"When I had the pleasure of seeing you at Ottawa, you acknowledged that it would not be just that I should pay certain expenses of the Government besides working in its behalf. You asked me to wait until after the Session. I did so, and now more than a year after, you ask me to postpone until an unfixed date. I am well aware that this is not such a mighty matter that it could not be settled at once, and if you are not willing to settle it, please let me know distinctly, and I will not trouble you any more about it in the way I am doing now.

"The question of the amnesty is of a much more important character. You and Sir George, as well as Lord Lisgar and Sir Clinton Murdoch, promised it to the delegates. The same promise has been repeated to me, and nothing has been done.

"To serve the Government, many of your friends, and I for one, have risked our reputation and suffered in many ways; and now I am accused by my own people of having been a deceiver, and the accusation is becoming so widely spread that unless a prompt and satisfactory solution be given, I will be obliged, for my own justification, to publish on what grounds I have acted and spoken during and after our difficulties.

"Without being jealous of the favors conferred on others, it is difficult not to feel the humiliation imposed upon the Government and upon ourselves by the nomination of



"Dr. Schultz as a Member of the Council of the North-West. When in your office at Ottawa, on the 7th December, 1871, I took the liberty to express the fear experienced by some that Schultz would be appointed as a Member of the said Council. Your answer was this: 'Do not be uneasy, Archbishop, such a thing will never occur under my Government.'

"Now, such a thing has occurred, and a very unfair proportion of French members is the compensation offered for the insult.

"Please remember your appreciation of Schultz to me, and recall at the same time what the Government has done for him, and you will not wonder at the feeling above mentioned, nor at the saying in the country:—

'To John Schultz,  
'Honor and money, plenty;  
'To friend fools,  
'Scaffolds, or pockets empty.'

"Please show this letter to Mr. Langevin.

"I once more rely on you to do your best amongst difficulties already very great, it is true, but which may soon become still greater.

"Believe me, with much respect,

"Dear Sir John,

"Yours sincerely,

"(Signed,)

ALEX.,

"Archbishop of St. Boniface,

"O. M. I.

"To Right Honourable Sir John A. Macdonald."

"NOTE.—I never received any answer to this letter.

"(Signed,)

ALEX.,

"Archbishop of St. Boniface,

"O. M. I.

"Ottawa, April 21st, 1874."

I produce also an extract of a letter to Mr. Langevin, to the same effect, dated 27th January, 1873.

The acknowledgement contains nothing material:—

(No. 21.)

*Archbishop Taché to Honorable H. L. Langevin, C.B.*

(Translation.)

"ST. BONIFACE, 27th January, 1873.

"Honorable H. L. Langevin,

"Minister of Public Works.

"HONORABLE AND DEAR SIR.—However disagreeable may be the habit of recrimination, I am again under the painful necessity of writing on subjects which cannot cause any pleasure. It would be far pleasanter to me to write in an agreeable strain; nevertheless the interest I take in my country deprives me of that satisfaction and imposes upon me the pain of being, perhaps, discourteous.

"I send herewith a list of those who administer in Manitoba, the several departments directly under the control of the Dominion Government. Everybody will not tell you, but everybody here feels the unjust preference exhibited by this list. Eighty-six appointments have been made at Ottawa. Out of this number five only are half-breeds; only twelve bear French names. If the Ottawa Government could not do otherwise, if they had undertaken to justify the apprehensions which provoked the resistance of 1869!

"you must see that since the Government look for support, in great part, to the Province of

"Quebec, they ought to have shewn more regard for the just susceptibilities of the French representation of that Province. Here discontent is increasing every day; not only is it general amongst the French population, but the English population manifest a like dissatisfaction. On this very day a most vexatious act has made manifest to us the injustice to which we are exposed. God knows how the Land Department is administered; there is nevertheless in that Department an employee who has succeeded in gaining public confidence; but that employee is a French Canadian—a Catholic—an honest man, and this morning, Mr. McMicken has discharged him. Mr. Larivière is dismissed from the Land Office without any reason whatever, without even a pretext given; thus there is great indignation amongst his numerous friends. If the Government sanctions this injustice, they will entirely lose many supporters. That Mr. McMicken should be furious at the revelations made by the *Globe*, is a matter that can be accounted for, though everything has not been revealed; but that our friend, Mr. Larivière, should be the victim of that fury, is something more difficult to account for. That the whole French population of Manitoba and a large portion of the English population should be forced to witness the expulsion in this way of the only man in the Land Department in whom they had confidence, is, I trust, what you will not tolerate.

"Then as to the promise of an amnesty, which it is now pretended was never made; what annoyance does it not cause you! That promise was made, not only to the delegates, but to myself. They have not the courage to avow their acts for fear of displeasing Ontario. Sir John A. Macdonald forgets himself so far as to join in the outcry of the most violent. What has the Cabinet gained by this policy of tergiversation? In Ontario, the Government are, it is said, in a minority, and I think the Quebec majority would very soon be reduced, if we were forced to give publicity to all the grievances of which we have to complain. For my part, and as it is impossible for me to refrain from saying what I think, I now make to you an avowal I deeply regret to make:—Two years ago a change of Ministry would have seemed to me a great misfortune for the Dominion in general, and for Quebec and Manitoba in particular. To-day I ask myself what we should lose by it, and whether, on the contrary, we might not find it a gain. I feel the full force of these latter words, and I do not write them without extreme pain. In Ontario the Conservatives have forced the Catholics to unite with the Grits; and it would be very painful if, in the Dominion, Catholics were induced to cry out: '*Salutem ex inimicis nostris.*' I am astonished to see the change of opinion in this respect amongst those amidst whom I live, more particularly since the elections. The efforts of every kind made for the election of Sir George E. Cartier, had made us hope for something better.

"At Ottawa they do not know what takes place here, and they govern us so as to please the fanatics of Ontario. The purity of the motives that animate me justify me in my own eyes for the great liberty I have taken. May the same motives justify me also in your own opinion.

"Accept the assurance of my profound respect.

"Your most devoted servant,

"(Signed,) ALEXANDER,

"Archbishop of St. Boniface."

"NOTE.—Nothing in the reply to this letter was of a nature to modify my impressions.

"(Signed,) ALEXANDER,

Archbishop of St. Boniface.

"Ottawa, 20th April, 1874."

I do not remember any further correspondence with the Government than that which I have already referred to. As I have stated, I wrote several letters, but obtained no replies relative to the amnesty; except perhaps this last September, when I heard Mr. Lepine had been arrested. I telegraphed to Mr. Langevin as follows:—

(No. 22.)

(Translation.)

"MONTREAL, 19th September, 1873.

"To Hon. Mr. Langevin, Ottawa.

"Lepine in gaol. Riel prosecuted. You know my duty and my position. Shall  
 "be obliged to publish.

"(Signed,) ARCHBISHOP TACHÉ."

I got an answer to this from Mr. Langevin by telegram of 19th September, 1873,  
 and letter of 21st September, 1873, as follows:—

(No. 23.)

*By Telegraph from Ottawa, to His Grace Archbishop Taché.*

(Translation.)

"MONTREAL, 19th September, 1873.

"Telegram received. No one looked for this event. I will see Sir John on this  
 "subject in council to-morrow morning.

"(Signed,) HECTOR L. LANGEVIN."

(No. 24.)

*Hon. H. L. Langevin, C.B., to H. G. Mgr. Taché.*

(Translation.)

"(Private and Confidential.)

"OTTAWA, 21st September, 1873.

"MY LORD,—I wished to write you yesterday, but was prevented by indisposition  
 "from doing so. To-day, though confined to the house, I feel that I cannot delay, and I  
 "hasten to speak with you on the Lepine matter.

"No one was more astonished than we were to learn the news in question. Sir John  
 "showed me a telegram he received while we were at the Royal Commission; he manifested  
 "to me his great surprise, and, I may say, his disappointment. We all thought that in  
 "your Province, as here, a desire existed to see peace established between the different sec-  
 "tions of the population inhabiting Manitoba. But your Grace is aware that one single  
 "agitator is enough to create a general turmoil. It is believed that — is at the bottom  
 "of this matter. He evidently wanted to strike a heavy blow at the moment when the  
 "Criminal Court was about to sit. It is evident that all he will get will be an answer  
 "from the Petty Jury that they cannot agree, even supposing that the Grand Jury find  
 "a true bill.

"I need not tell your Grace that N. is not acting in concert with us or with regard  
 "to our views, and that we have taken no part in this matter.

"You say that you may be compelled to 'publish.' Permit me, your Grace, to offer  
 "a remark on this subject. You have more than once done me the honor of granting me  
 "your confidence, and of believing me to be sincerely desirous of doing for your new  
 "Province everything in my power. Having, therefore, at heart, like your Grace, the  
 "prosperity and peace of Manitoba, permit me to say to you that there are irons enough  
 "in the fire without multiplying them still more. Since your intervention at this moment  
 "cannot prevent what has just happened at Manitoba, or modify the judicial proceedings,  
 "do you not think that your intervention must of necessity merely complicate matters,  
 "and create national and religious difficulties which would benefit neither those whom  
 "you wish to protect in Manitoba nor our people in other parts of the Dominion?

"I ask you then, in the interests of the public, and in order to prevent a greater evil, not to take action in the sense of your despatch on this occasion."

"Would you be so good as to telegraph me to-morrow where you will be this week, in case I should have to communicate with your Grace."

"I remain your Grace's most devoted servant,

HECTOR L. LANGEVIN.

"To His Grace, Archbishop TACHÉ,

"Bishop's Palace, Montreal."

There were any amount of rumours circulating about the Province about the Fenian raid. I was obliged to leave the country, and before doing so, I went to pay my respects to the Lieutenant-Governor, about the 22nd September, 1871, as I was to leave, and did leave, on the 3rd September, 1871. He said to me: "I am afraid you are leaving us under bad circumstances." "Why," said I. "Are you not aware of the rumours about the Fenian invasion?" said he. "Well," I said, "I have heard of it, but I do not believe it. We are blessed with so many rumours in our little Province that I cannot believe this report even if it should be true." "What would be the result if true," said Mr. Archibald. I replied: "I do not know what would be the result, but I can ascertain perhaps on my way, and if there is any real danger I may be of some help, and I will come back." The Governor then said: "In case there is danger, and you will not be back, with whom can I communicate to ascertain the feeling of the people?" I then replied: "I think you can properly address yourself to Father Ritchot; he has a great deal of influence amongst the population, and will tell you all he knows about it when you call on him."

After leaving Fort Garry I met some of those who were called Fenians. I met O'Donohue himself three days distant from Fort Garry. I made a point of speaking to him on the question, and I showed to him not only the impropriety, but the criminality of the thing. He denied to me having any intention of making an attack upon the Province of Manitoba. He said he was merely the leader of a party of emigrants who were going to Manitoba, and that he had come to an agreement with the railway companies to get a reduction in the passage for these emigrants. He also stated that he would convey them to their destination, and go back at once to secure other emigrants to Manitoba.

Previous to my departure from Red River, I met Mr. Riel at Father Ritchot's place, and I said to him, "Are you aware of what is going on about the Fenians?" He said: "Yes, I am perfectly aware that there are rumours afloat; but," he added, "I do not know anything positive about it." "I suppose," I said, "there is no doubt about your action in the matter?" He replied: "There is no doubt about my action in the matter; there is not the slightest doubt that I am not connected in any way with them; but in the meantime, I do not know what action to take, because you know perfectly well that my life is not safe. I may go in the front and fight against the Fenians, and I am sure to be killed by those behind me. So I am at a loss what I can do, but you can rest assured there is not the slightest danger of me or any one of my friends going with the Fenians. We dislike the Fenians, for they are condemned by our church, and you may be assured I will have nothing to do with them." This was on the 23rd September I told this to Father Ritchot, and he said: "I knew long ago there was no doubt about their course." This is all I know about this myself.

I came to Canada October 5th, 1871. I saw Sir George in Montreal and Quebec, and he spoke to me about Riel's leaving the country, and he strongly advised me to use my influence to get Riel to leave the country for a while. This was in October or November, 1871. I told Sir George that I agreed in his opinion, but that it was extremely difficult for me to interfere, as I had been so badly treated, being deceived about the amnesty. He urged me saying, "I was the pastor of the people," and he insisted so much that I at last said I would try, but I said, "You must remember that man is poor; his mother is a widow with four young girls and three young boys, and she has no means of support especially when her eldest son is away. He himself has

said he thought they could not leave without \$1,600 each, and that a certain additional amount, £8 or £10 sterling a month should be paid to the family of each. I objected at first to the amount, and they answered, "We see now and then the Public Accounts of "Canada, and we know that the officials do not travel with small amounts. For instance, "the Canadian officials who came to the boundary line in 1869, have expended many "times that amount." I told him that having but \$1,000 in my hands, I would see what could be done for the balance before giving my answer.

It was then that I saw Lieutenant-Governor Archibald on the subject of money. There were many conversations between the Lieutenant-Governor of Manitoba and myself on the subject. The Lieutenant-Governor called on Mr. Smith, and, in my presence, asked if he could furnish the funds, which, of course, he said would be re-imbursed by the Canadian Government. I named at first £800 sterling to the Governor as the sum required by Riel and Lepine for themselves and their families. The Governor asked Mr. Smith to lend £800 sterling. I mentioned that I had \$1,000 at my disposal, without mentioning the source, and thus the sum to be furnished by Mr. Smith was reduced to £600 sterling. I understood that the advance was asked of and made by Mr. Smith in his capacity of agent for the Company who were the bankers for the Territory. Mr. Smith said he could, and did, in fact, furnish £600 sterling. It was handed to me, and I added to the amount, out of the \$1,000 before mentioned, a little over \$200, to make up \$1,600 apiece for Riel and Lepine, which I gave them in accordance with their demand, to enable them to go and live outside the territory. The remainder of the \$1,000 I kept in the bank of the Company to be used as required for the support of their families, and it was so used. I wrote the letter which they had asked of me, and I produce a copy, dated 16th February 1872.

(No. 25.)

*Bishop Taché to Messrs. Riel and Lepine.*

(Translation.)

"ST. BONIFACE,

"MANITOBA, 16th February, 1872.

"GENTLEMEN,—In the conversation we had together yesterday you decided to leave "to my judgment, the decision to be taken in relation to the difficulties which threaten "to arise owing to fanaticism. Were it not for your well-known patriotism and disinterestedness, I should not even venture to express the opinion I have formed.

"I know that a motive of fear or the mere desire of personal safety would not influence you; hence I have given hardly a moment's consideration to the chances in that "direction. Surrounded by your friends, protected by their devotedness and zeal, you are "as safe here as elsewhere, and perhaps more so than you would be travelling; nor is this "the question to be considered.

"I know that the line of conduct you have marked out for yourselves is rightly dear "to your hearts, and that you are determined not to deviate in any way from the principles by which you are guided, much less to yield to unjust influences, how urgent "soever they may be.

"Your fellow citizens love and respect you, and the influence you enjoy amongst "them enables you to do them good and to be useful to them. Your presence is a bond "of union amongst them. Your departure would be a trial as well as a sacrifice." "I know all this, gentlemen; I know it all the better from the fact that for a long time "past these matters have occupied my mind and my heart daily. Despite that knowledge, "I take it upon me to utter the painful and delicate word, Go, disappear for a time; do "not leave even a pretext to those who are assailing you so unjustly. They want to accomplish evil ends, to disturb the country, to ruin it if possible, and with that view "they gladly make use of the pretext that you are here. Deprive them of that pretext "offer this fresh sacrifice on the altar of your country; you know by experience as well "as from principle that it befits good citizens to place the public welfare above the most

"legitimate individual aspirations. Shew once again that your patriotism is not confined within the narrow limits of personal advantages, but that on the contrary you are capable of forgetting self when good is to be done.

"I feel, gentlemen, the magnitude and the extent of the sacrifice I ask of you. I have seen many sincere and devoted friends who think as I do. Few, no doubt, will take upon themselves the painful task of begging you to go away. My friendship and my confidence in you have nerved me to do so. I have declared myself your best friend; this has caused me to be insulted by those who hate you, and who would treat me with the same contempt as they do you. Well, let them insult me again, for I am ready to repeat, and I do repeat, that I consider myself your best friend, and as such I venture to take the liberty of giving advice of so painful a nature. I know how painful it must be to you to go forth into exile, to go forth to expiate in a foreign land the crime of having so deeply loved the country of your birth. I know the affection you leave behind. If my friendship counsels your departure, it will also inspire me with compassion, and I shall not fail to offer a meed of consolation to those who must shed bitter tears during the days of your absence. Farewell, gentlemen, I bless you; and, awaiting your return, I pray to God to keep you and to bring you back safe and sound

"Yours, &c.,

"ALEXANDER, Archbishop of St. Boniface.

"To Messrs. Louis Riel and

"Ambrose Lepine,

"St. Vital, Manitoba."

It was delivered within a few days, and they left the country. They left, not by the stage, but by a private conveyance, and by night for fear of violence; and I was told, a few days later by Mr. Plainval, Chief of Police, that he had sent one or two of his men to protect them in case of danger. As far as I can remember in my conversation with Riel and Lepine, it was understood that they should remain out of the country till about the end of that year. I thought that the terms of Sir John Macdonald's letter as to payment by instalments were altered by Sir George's letter asking me to divide the money between Riel and Lepine. I spoke to them about payment by instalments; but they pointed out the possible inconvenience, and said they must have the money with them, except, of course, that which was retained for their families. The money was paid to them the day on which I gave them the letter; the money in the morning and the letter in the evening. I cannot remember whether I wrote to Sir John or Sir George as to the disposition of the \$1,000, or as to my success in accomplishing the departure of Riel and Lepine. I remember once Sir John writing to me and hinting that they had not complied with the conditions. This letter of Sir John's was of a much later date. I will try and find it at home. I cannot recollect exactly whether or not I had any communication with the Ottawa Government on the subject of this £600. I am certain that the Lieut.-Governor said the Ottawa Government would repay the money. That money was furnished under the directions of Governor Archibald.

When we heard in Manitoba that Sir George had been defeated, I received a letter from Lieut.-Governor Archibald either the 3rd or 4th September, 1872, which I produce,

(No. 31.)

"Thursday morning, 5th Sept., 1872.

"MY DEAR ARCHBISHOP,—Now or never. Do not let the chance, which will never recur, be lost. Could you see me to-day.

"Yours very sincerely,

(Signed,)

"A. G. ARCHIBALD."

"His Grace the Archbishop."

On the same day I went to him who explained to me that it seemed to him that it would be highly advisable that Riel (who was then a candidate for Provencher) should retire and allow Sir George to be elected. I said I would try and see Riel and ascertain his views. The Governor said that this would bind Sir George so tightly that he could not help doing even more afterwards than he had done towards the amnesty. I saw Riel and advised him to retire, giving him the same reasons, and also other reasons on behalf of his country. He told me that personally he would have no hesitation, that he understood perfectly well it would be for the advantage of Manitoba to have a representative in the Cabinet, but that he was not quite sure his friends would view the matter in the same light and that in order to satisfy them he must have some guarantee that the interests of the half-breeds would not be overlooked. He gave me, in writing, his conditions of withdrawal in favor of Sir George. I returned to Mr. Archibald, and stated the conditions, and myself wrote at his desk a translation made by himself, and which he was to have telegraphed to Sir George. I produce a copy of what was so translated, made by myself in Mr. Archibald's presence; I added my signature to the copy Mr. Archibald retained.

(No. 32).

"That the settlers shall be continued in the exercise of all the rights they have been accustomed to enjoy in respect of the lands on the rear of their lots, and no sales or entries there shall be permitted till the question of their rights shall be settled and adjusted under the agreements with the delegates.

"That no person shall be allowed to enter in the townships laid aside for the half-breeds, from the date of the selection; and any person entered after that date to be removed by the Government authority."

Mr. Archibald, as he told me, telegraphed to Sir John instead of Sir George, and on the 10th September I received from Mr. Archibald a letter, which I produce:—

(No. 33).

*Lieutenant-Governor Archibald to Mon. Taché.*

(Private.)

GOVERNMENT HOUSE,

FORT GARRY, 10th September, 1872.

"MY DEAR ARCHBISHOP,—I have this moment received your note of this morning.

"Mr. Monard is now engaged in posting the proclamations in Provencher. They will be up in every public place in the County during the day, and every inhabitant will know that the nomination is to be held on Saturday.

"The telegraph lines were down on Friday. They began to work on Saturday, but so badly that the telegraph operator is uncertain whether the message could reach Ottawa till yesterday morning. There is no reply yet; but so soon as one comes, you shall have it.

"Look at the 'Globe,' of the 2nd inst, received by this morning's mail, for an article upon the Provencher election. If anything could convince the French, Metis, such an article as this ought.

"They should elect Sir George by acclamation, without stipulations or conditions.

"It would be the graceful way, and would bind Sir George quite as effectually as any stipulations, which after all are not the making, but the renewal of pledges already given.

"However, this is not my business.

"Yours, very sincerely,

"(Signed,)

A. G. ARCHIBALD.

"His Grace

"The Right-Rev. the Archbishop."

The next day, I think, I wrote to the Governor that, if he wished a favorable reply, he must try and take means to ascertain whether Riel's conditions had been accepted or not.

On Thursday morning, about the 12th September, I received a note from the Lieut.-Governor, which I produce.

(No. 34.)

(Private and Confidential.)

"12th September, 1872..

"MY DEAR ARCHBISHOP,—I received last evening a telegram from Sir John, to say that he had received my message, and sent it to Sir George, and that he expected a reply to-day, and would forward it to me at once. I see that he thinks the constituency ought to elect Sir George promptly, and without stipulation. They could safely confide in promises which, being already made, can gain no strength by repetition. You shall have the answer of Sir George whenever it arrives.

"Yours sincerely,  
"(Signed,) A. G. ARCHIBALD.

"To His Grace the Archbishop."

The same evening I received from Mr. Archibald what he said was a copy of a telegram from Sir John, as follows :—

"OTTAWA, 12th September, 1872.

"LIEUT.-GOV. ARCHIBALD,—Sir George will do all he can to meet the wishes of the parties ; this statement should be satisfactory.

"(Signed,) JOHN A. MACDONALD."

"Copy of telegram just received.

"(Signed,) HENRI BOUTHILLIER."

This was communicated to the parties ; and just the night before the election I received the information that Riel had succeeded in inducing his friends to support the election of Sir George, and that on the following day he would, at the nomination, retire in his favor ; and he did so, and immediately after sent Sir George a telegram, of which I produce a certified copy.

(No. 36.)

"WINNIPEG, 14th September, 1872.

"To Hon. Sir George Et. Cartier,  
Bart., Montreal.

"Your election in our County is by acclamation, and have reason to hope in the success of the cause trusted into your hands.

"(Signed,)

LOUIS RIEL,  
"JOSEPH ROYAL,  
"A. LEPINE,  
"JAS. DUBUC."

I did not myself communicate with Sir George on the subject, but I received from him a telegram, dated 17th September, which I produce.



(No. 37.)

"OTTAWA, 17th September, 1872.

"To His Grace Archbishop Taché.

"Presume your Grace is one of the friends who got me elected in Provencher; accept my sincere thanks. Give thanks for me to all friends, and specially to those who were more instrumental in securing election. Am leaving for England for brief visit for my health; will send letters of thanks before leaving.

"(Signed,) G. E. CARTIER."

In reference to communications with Members of the Government, I forgot to mention one thing that occurred on the 15th August, 1873. In an interview with Sir John A. Macdonald, in Ottawa, he told me there were some communications received from England to the effect that they were allowed to publish an amnesty to all excepting those concerned in the execution of Thomas Scott. "This," he added, "is not what you wish. I will go to England immediately after the Session, and I am sure they will settle the question of the amnesty." I afterwards wrote to Mr. Langevin a letter, dated 16th August, which I produce:—

(No. 26.)

*Bishop Taché to Hon. Mr. Langevin.*

(Translation.)

"OTTAWA, 16th August, 1873.

"To the Hon. Mr. Langevin,

"Minister of Public Works, &amp;c., &amp;c.

"HONORABLE AND DEAR SIR.—Allow me to communicate to you the painful impression resting on my mind since my interview with Sir John A. Macdonald, yesterday.

"The Right Honorable Minister of Justice was, I must say, as kind and amiable as usual—on certain points he was even condescending. On the other hand, by way of confidence, he displayed to me a disposition which has not only afflicted me, but has wounded me in a most cruel manner. He will communicate to you what he said in relation to certain information received by Lord Dufferin from England.

"If it is as they tell me, there can be no more formal duplicity. If matters result in this way, I shall find myself to have been made sport of in a most disgraceful manner. They have then only made use of me to deceive, and wait the time when vengeance could more easily be taken.

"Without mention of the false calculation they have made as to the latter point of view, my conduct, to my own mind, is very clearly marked out. I can only place before the public in general, and the Members of the House in particular, the game in which I have been the victim and the tool. I trust that I shall not be driven to this extremity, and that the Government will not compel me to reveal to the public all I know about the Manitoba question.

"Risking to be thought inconsiderate, allow me to ask for a second interview before my departure from Ottawa.

"With profound respect and sincere esteem,

"Your most humble servant,

"(Signed,) ALEXANDER,  
"Archbishop of St. Boniface."

The next day Mr. Langevin waited on me. He requested me not to be uneasy, and said they would take some steps to settle the difficulty. I went back to Montreal on the 19th August.

When in Montreal I received a telegram requesting me to come as quickly as possible to Ottawa, dated 21st August, from J. C. Taché, Deputy Minister of Agriculture, of which I produce a copy, as follows:—

(No. 38.)

(Translation.)

"OTTAWA, August 21st, 1873.

"To Archbishop Taché,

"Father Oblat's House,

"Want you here. Come up this evening. Important. Answer immediately.

"(Signed,) J. C. TACHÉ."

I left at once and arrived on 22nd August. Mr. Taché told me that Mr. Langevin had requested him to telegraph me. Both Sir John and Mr. Langevin went to the Palace, but I was already gone to the Departmental Buildings to see them. Mr. Langevin came to me there and told me Sir John was in his office waiting to see me. I accompanied Mr. Langevin to Sir John. The conversation began on the election of Riel for the vacant seat in Provencher. They both insisted on the propriety of Riel not running for that election, but being replaced by one of his friends. I answered that I would not interfere any more, that I had been deceived too often. They insisted, and Sir John A. Macdonald said again that he would go to England after the Session and secure the amnesty. There was a long talk, and at last I told Sir John that I would not, and could not, do any thing in the matter unless he would give me a written guarantee of what he was saying; he said he could not give anything in writing, and he left the place.

After he left Mr. Langevin told me that I ought to do something under the circumstances. I said I could not, and that it was strange if they were so sure that the amnesty would be granted that they would not give me a written assurance; that, in fact I was tired with promises so often made and never performed. He said to me "I never promised you, and this time I will make the promise." I said "You may promise as your colleagues did, but you may not succeed, as they have not succeeded in carrying out the promise. I trust you individually, but I cannot in this affair trust you more than your colleagues, as I am afraid you have not more power than they."

He then pledged himself to me, and offered to pledge to the whole party of Lower Canada, to resign in case Sir John A. Macdonald would not succeed to get the amnesty or would not work for it.

I merely answered: "It is not your resignation I am working for, it is the accomplishment of the promise of the amnesty."

He insisted again and again, but I told him I could not act any further.

I withdrew, and the next day returned to Montreal.

On 18th October I received a telegram, which I produce, from Dr. Taché, and it was duplicated within fifteen minutes.

(No. 39.)

"OTTAWA, 18th October, 1874.

"To Archbishop Taché,

"At the Grey Nuns, Grey Street.

"Of utmost importance that you come to Ottawa at once. Start to-night. Do not fail. Answer by telegraph immediately.

"(Signed,) J. C. TACHÉ."

I started, and arrived on the 19th. I saw some of the Members, and thereafter, on the same or the next day, I had an interview with Mr. Langevin, and I addressed him on the question of amnesty. He told me that for his part he was ready to resign should his resignation be of any use; "but" he added, "I cannot see that it could serve you in any way. I think you had better leave the matter with us, and I will consult with all the members for Quebec on our side, and we will come to some agreement." Then I was assured that Mr. Langevin and his colleague, Mr. Robitaille, had pledged themselves to their party, as represented in the House, to give in their resignations if Sir John

Macdonald did not, on his visit to England, succeed in securing an amnesty. I was also told, but by whom I cannot say, that this was agreed to between Sir John and Mr. Langevin.

On the question of amnesty, I saw, I think, Mr. Dorion first after the formation of the present Government, I think in November last. I also saw Mr. Letellier.

They stated that the Government was not yet organized properly, and that they would not give me any guarantee, except that they were personally in favor of an amnesty, and that they hoped, especially if it could be proved to have been promised, there would be no difficulty in having it granted.

I repeatedly told them it had been promised in an interview with Mr. Letellier in his office on or about the 25th November. He said to me: "I think (or I hope) that we shall be able to give the amnesty to our Lower Canadian friends as a New Year's gift."

In one of our interviews in Montreal, which took place shortly after, Mr. Dorion asked me to furnish him with a statement of facts relative to that question, and with copies of documents in my possession relating to that question.

I complied with his request, but I did not furnish any of the confidential papers.

I saw him within a day or two after his receipt of the papers, and he told me he thought them very satisfactory, and for himself he was entirely satisfied that the amnesty had been promised.

On 30th November I saw both these gentlemen together in Montreal. I spoke again on the subject, and got about the same answers; but I was led to believe that they themselves had some guarantees about it. They were not explicit, but I was led to believe it. It was something to the effect that there was an agreement with their colleagues as to the granting of the amnesty. The words as near as I can say were these: "We cannot settle everything. It is so soon after the formation of the Government. We have hopes that the thing will be arranged in a favorable way according to your wishes; and we see ourselves the necessity of the amnesty." I remember no further words.

My impression was so strong, that I asked Mr. Dorion in what way he and I could communicate together about the amnesty, after my departure for Manitoba, without its being known. He then wrote in my memorandum book two sentences, which he explained as to what their meaning would be in case we should communicate about the amnesty.

I produce the sentences, "Communication received, matter attended to immediately," meant this: "communication received" means "amnesty," "matter attended to immediately" means "immediate promulgation of the amnesty."

Next sentence, "Communication received" (same meaning), "matter under consideration" meaning "that the amnesty was under consideration by the Ottawa Government", "you may expect early decision," meaning its inherent sense as bearing on the secret meaning of the prior part of the sentence.

It was agreed that he would add to the latter sentence the name of the month in which he expected the thing would be settled.

The date is marked on the back of this memorandum. It is November 30th. The memorandum was written about the close of our interview of that day, which was my last interview with them.

I left Montreal on the 2nd of December.

The impression made on my mind was so favorable, that on my arrival I told many people that we had every reason to expect that the new Government would carry out the promise of the old Government.

24th December I telegraphed to Mr. Dorion. I produce a copy of the telegram.

(No. 40.)

"FORT GARRY, 24th December, 1873.

"To the Honorable A. A. Dorion,

Ottawa.

"Anxious hearing from you. Is communication received. Lepine bailed yesterday.

(Signed.)

"ARCHBISHOP TACHÉ."

I received an answer, dated 25th December, which I produce.

(No. 41.)

(Received at Fort Garry, 26.)

"MONTREAL, December 25th, 1873.

"To Archbishop Taché.

"I received the gratifying intelligence contained in your telegram. Matters here are progressing slowly, but most satisfactorily. In a few days I will write result, and about some important questions.

(Signed,)

"A. A. DORION."

The letter promised in that telegram never came. On the same 24th December I wrote a letter to Mr. Dorion, which he produces.

(No. 46.)

*Archbishop Taché to Honorable A. A. Dorion.*

"ST. BONIFACE, MANITOBA,  
"December 24th, 1873.

"Hon. A. A. Dorion,  
"Minister of Justice.

"HON. AND DEAR SIR,—I send you herewith the burial certificate of Alfred Scott, Esq., one of the Delegates of the Provisional Government to the Government of Canada. I add thereto a copy of the petition which the said Alfred Scott addressed to Her Majesty jointly with the Rev. Mr. Ritchot, and which I myself attest to be a true copy. I do not know what the Government then in power at Ottawa did with that petition, it proves at least that Scott thought as Mr. Ritchot did. Mr. Black did not return here after the negotiations; in fact he started for Scotland before they were closed.

"Lepine was admitted to bail yesterday. I trust you will take steps to prevent his trial ever taking place. I am most anxious to hear from you.

"Accept my sincere good wishes, and believe me with deep respect,

"Your most humble servant,

"ALEXANDER,  
"Archbishop of St. Boniface."

"P.S.—Mr. Brisebois is still the only French Canadian officer in the Mounted Police, and he is in the lowest rank.—ALEX."

I got no answer to this letter. Lieut.-Governor Morris had, previous to 24th December, told me that he had communicated to the old and to the new Government by letter his view that the granting of the amnesty was a necessity.

On 2nd January I received from Dr. Taché a telegram, which I produce.

(No. 42.)

"OTTAWA, 2nd January, 1874.

\* \* \* \* \*

"General election immediate. Governor Morris will communicate with you. Of paramount importance for friends to comply with his request. Answer by telegraph.

(Signed,)

"J. G. TACHÉ."

On 3rd January Governor Morris' private secretary came to my place, and showed me copy of an extract from a telegram in cipher which the Governor had received from Mr. Dorion. I am now shown a copy furnished by Mr. Dorion, which is what was shown me :

(No. 48.)

"OTTAWA, January 2nd, 1874.

"To Alex. Morris,  
"Fort Garry, Manitoba.

"Will you communicate confidentially to Bishop Taché that I am particularly desirous in the interest of his people, in order to avoid excitement, that Riel should not be a candidate.

"(Signed), A. A. DORION."

After seeing this, and before calling on Mr. Morris, I answered my brother's telegram by one dated 3rd January, of which I produce a copy.

(No. 43.)

"St. BONIFACE, January 3rd, 1874.

"To J. C. Taché, Ottawa.

"Telegram received yesterday. Communication heard of to-day in an unbecoming manner. Want at least official written instrument and conditions.

"(Signed), ALEXANDER."

At the same time, and before seeing Mr. Morris, I wrote Mr. Dorion a letter, dated 3rd January, of which he produces the original.

(No. 47.)

*Archbishop Taché to Hon. A. A. Dorion.*

(Private.)

"ST. BONIFACE, MANITOBA,  
January 3rd, 1874.

"HONORABLE AND DEAR SIR,—I take up the pen under a very painful impression. A telegram received yesterday from my brother had given me a foreboding of what I have since learned. Mr. Morris (who affects not to hold any communication with me) sent his Secretary to show me a telegram which that young gentleman stated to have been received from you yesterday, and in which I am asked to prevent Mr. Riel from standing as a candidate at the next general election. To say nothing of Mr. Morris' mode of proceeding in a matter of such importance and delicacy, I must say that the request itself causes me the greatest embarrassment, and, in fact, the utmost pain. Is this then the whole result of our efforts and labors! Ministries succeed one another only to follow up a policy which, to my mind, is not a just one, and which most certainly will not seem generous in your eyes or in the eyes of your friends.

"The whole Province of Québec ask you to do an act of justice in behalf of men who have been shamefully deceived, and the only answer is to request me to manage so that their leader shall not receive a proof of the respect and confidence of his fellow country men. This man is within two or three hours' journey of Montreal, and an eight days' journey from me, and I am to take steps to induce him to hide himself and to continue with his family in misery! What is to be offered to Mr. Riel as a recompense for the sacrifices which he is called upon to make? Misery, exile, or a jail if he returns to his native land! There is no other alternative. Your telegram received the day after Christmas poured balm into my heart, and into that of those to whom I was able to communicate

"it without indiscretion and without danger. But I must confess that the telegram of the day after New Year's has produced an entirely different result. For four years I have been made use of, *nominally for the good of the people whom I love*, as an instrument to deceive that same people. You were pleased to form a correct opinion of my position, and to assure me that you would never place me in so false a one. Allow me to tell you that now, more than ever, my interference in the direction requested (*unless there were certain compensation*) would to me be productive of pain and difficulty. I cannot act unless, I repeat, I have something certain to offer. If you knew all the indignities to which our poor people have been subjected, you would not be annoyed at my experiencing the painful feelings which I do. I most anxiously await the letter which you promised me at Christmas. I still hope I may find some comfort in it.

"With respect and esteem,"

"Your very obedient Servant,

"ALEXANDER,

"Archbishop of St. Boniface.

"The Hon. A. A. Dorion."

I saw Mr. Morris on 5th January, and told him that I had no means at all to open the matter, that I did not know where Riel was; that he had left the country some months previous. That I knew he was somewhere near Montreal, though where I did not know; and I added that I had no will to act, for the same reason I had given Mr. Langevin in October, which I repeated in substance to Mr. Morris. I told him the name of a person with whom Mr. Dorion could communicate, and who perhaps could let him know where Riel was, and what were his intentions.

A few days later I said to Mr. Morris that I could perhaps ascertain where Riel was and that perhaps some arrangement might be made; but that I would take no action at all unless furnished with a written guarantee.

Mr. Morris, in my presence on this 5th January, wrote a telegram to Mr. Dorion of which I have not a copy. Mr. Dorion now produces a copy which I identify as correct.

(No. 49.)

"FORT GARRY, 5th January, 1874.

"HON. A. A. DORION.—Have seen Archbishop. He thinks matter can be arranged if amnesty granted, or written promise of it within short and definite period, but not otherwise. He has written. You can communicate with Riel through Father Lascomb at Montreal, who knows where he is.

"(Signed),

A. MORRIS."

Mr. Morris told me repeatedly that he had received no answer to that telegram.

On 7th January, my brother sent me a telegram, of which I produce a copy; I did not answer it.

(No. 44.)

Telegram from J. C. Taché to Archbishop Taché.

OTTAWA, Ont., January 7, 1874.

"To Bishop Taché.—

"Cannot understand unbecoming manner. No intention to wound your feelings; quite the contrary. No official written instrument can be given. My personal opinion not altered. I think that a friend of his be chosen and not himself for present.

"(Signed)

J. C. TACHÉ."

I got no answer to my letter to Mr. Dorion of 3rd January. On 10th March I sent a telegram to Mr. Dorion of which I produce a copy.

(No. 45.)

"FORT GARRY, March 10, 1874.

"To the Hon. A. A. Dorion, Ottawa.

"No answer yet to my letter of January. Nothing either about the communication alluded to in your telegram of Christmas. Am publishing on promising and granting of amnesty.

"(Signed,)

ARCHBISHOP TACHÉ."

I received an answer dated 11th March, which is at home, but Mr. Dorion now produces a copy which I identify as correct.

(No. 50.)

"OTTAWA, 11th March, 1874.

"To Archbishop Taché, Fort Garry :

"Telegram received last night, not quite intelligible. I have asked to have it repeated. I can only say now that elections have delayed consideration of several questions relating to Manitoba, which are now engaging the attention of the Government in anticipation of the Session, which opens on the 26th instant. Not probable any information can be given till then.

"(Signed,)

A. A. DORION."

I received a further answer dated 12th March, of which Mr. Dorion now produces copy, which I identify as correct.

(No. 51.)

"OTTAWA, 12th March, 1874. 0

"To Archbishop Taché, Fort Garry.

"Telegram has been repeated. I understand you are going to publish documents ; would respectfully suggest that it can have no good effect, and should be delayed. Hon. E. B. Wood just appointed Chief Justice, is an able lawyer, and free from prejudice.

"(Signed,)

A. A. DORION."

I wrote to Father Lascomb immediately after the communication with Mr. Morris, about the first week in January, that very likely the Canadian Government would open negotiations with him about Riel's election ; that I had nothing to say except that he should act according to circumstances, and that I left the matter to his own discretion.

I got an answer from Father Lascomb to the effect that Mr. Dorion had communicated with him, either directly or through some one else, but that having no assurance himself, and having regard to the way I myself had been treated, he had no instructions to mingle in such affairs.

In November Mr. Dorion informed me that a true bill had been found against Riel, at an interview in his office, very shortly after the formation of the Government. He had telegraphed to Fort Garry, at my request, as I was anxious about the proceedings which I understood were being taken against Lepine only, and the information he obtained from Governor Morris he communicated to me by telegram to Montreal. This information was as to a true bill, not only against Lepine, but also against Riel, O'Donohoe and four others.

I communicated this to some friends in Montreal. It was not public news there when I received it, as far as I know, but it was so the next day. There was no applica-

tion made by me or by any one else, to my knowledge, to any member of the present Government for pecuniary assistance to be given to Riel, nor was any such assistance rendered to my knowledge.

I wrote Riel a letter the day I left Montreal, but never got an answer. This was the only letter, and I had no personal communication with him.

I had no communication with him, and did nothing, save what I have already described, as to Riel's candidature for Provencher, or his return to Manitoba.

I had not the acquaintance of, nor had I any communication, either verbally or in writing, with any member of the present Government, save Mr. Dorion and Mr. Letellier.

I am sure that Riel did not return to Manitoba. I believe he remained in the neighbourhood of Montreal. It was not in order to inform Riel, that I asked Mr. Dorion to find out about the proceedings. I had not at that time an idea that the proceedings actively prosecuted were against him or any one else than Lepine. I did not communicate what I learned to Riel, as far as I remember. It was for my own information, and in order to speak to Mr. Dorion about the consequences as to Lepine, that I made the enquiry of one or both of them. On hearing from Fort Garry the way the Grand Jury was formed, I expressed my surprise, and said I did not think it was justice, but truly injustice. This was because Farmer, the prosecutor, was one of the Grand Jurors, and because the proportions and number of the jurors were not according to law.

At, I think, every one of the conversations, Mr. Dorion told me that he personally could not give me any promise of an amnesty. Whether this was in answer to my question or not, I cannot remember. He added, that he was perfectly well disposed and expected he would be able to satisfy us, as hereinbefore stated.

In reply to Mr. Dorion, when he said he could not give me any promise, I said I had rather have no promise at all, than one that would not be fulfilled afterwards.

The reason he gave me for not being able to give me any promise was, as I have already stated, that the Government was but just formed and had not yet time to decide anything; and, he added, that even if there had been anything, he, of course, could not tell me Cabinet secrets; and, of course, I did not expect this. I did not make any enquiry of him as to the opinion and sentiments of his Ontario colleagues.

I enclosed, in my letter of 24th December, copy of the burial certificate of Alfred Scott, in compliance with a request made by Mr. Dorion in Montreal; and it was in compliance with a similar request, that I enclosed copy of the petition signed by the same Scott. I informed Mr. Dorion of the absence of Judge Black for the same reason.

Mr. Dorion wished to know the state of things, as to the three delegates, and I had furnished him with Father Ritchot's affidavit, and was by this letter furnishing him with the evidence of Scott, and informing him of the absence of Black.

The "hope of some consolation" referred to at the close of my letter of 3rd January, was the granting of the amnesty.

There had, up to the time of the writing of this letter, been no promise of an amnesty by the present Government or any member of it, though I had been led to expect it, as I have before mentioned.

I can give no more words which passed between Messrs. Dorion or Letellier and myself than what I have already given in this examination.

It was on these words and from the whole tenor of our conversation, that I based the expectation I entertained.

I cannot say positively whether I asked the question, but I received positive assurances from both Governments, the old and the new, that if Lepine was convicted he should be soon pardoned.

It was from Mr. Langevin or Sir John, or both, that I learned this as to the old Government; and from either Mr. Letellier or Mr. Dorion, or both, that I learned it as to the new Government.

ALEXANDER,  
Archbishop of St. Boniface.



COMMITTEE ROOM,

MONDAY, April 20th, 1874.

The Reverend Noel Joseph Ritchot, deposed :—

I am the parish priest of St. Norbert, in the Diocese of St. Boniface, in the Province of Manitoba. I was in the North-West before 1869, and during 1869 and 1870. I arrived there in the spring of 1862, and remained there up to my coming here on the delegation. I always resided there. The causes of the trouble arose chiefly so far as I could see from the fact that the people had no notice whatsoever of the transactions which seemed to be treated on between the Imperial Government, the Hudson's Bay Company, and the Government of Canada, with reference to the transfer of the North-West Territory to Canada. The nature of these transactions was completely unknown in the North-West, and the people were dissatisfied from the first at being left in that position. That, so far as I could see, was the chief cause of the discontent.

The dissatisfaction was increased at first by the conduct of a certain "Canadian" party settled in Manitoba. That was in the autumn of 1868. It arose chiefly because that party treated the people with contempt in correspondence in the newspapers. They were few in number, and it was chiefly due to the action of their newspaper and a few individuals whose names were published. Only a few names were known. I do not know the probable number of the party. The newspaper was the "North-Wester." The troubles were increased in the autumn of 1868 by the arrival of a party of Canadian employees. Difficulties commenced in the course of the winter. The principal cause of the difficulty then was the rumour that these employees had made a treaty with the Indians for a certain tract of land, part of which the people of the country had claimed for themselves. I became aware of this through evidence in the Court, at the sitting of which I was present, in a case against Mr. Snow. On the occasion of that suit, the witnesses stated that on such a day Mr. Snow treated with the Indians, and gave them flour, pork and drink in exchange for the lands. I was present when that was said by the witnesses against Mr. Snow. This testimony corroborated the rumours I had heard with reference to the treaty. This was in the month of March, 1869. Subsequently to that date I had no knowledge of any special difficulty till the month of July. In the month of July, on the 29th of that month, a meeting was held at the Court House. I think it was a meeting at which all the people of the country were expected. From all I could learn of the object of the meeting, it was for the purpose of demanding the money, or a portion of the money, the Hudson's Bay Company were to receive from Canada for the country, and moreover, to overthrow the Government of the Hudson's Bay Company. I state word for word what was told me at the time. I was not at the meeting. This was told me before the meeting by the party who was to be the chairman—Mr. William Dease. I heard this on the 24th July (Saturday), and on the Sunday I warned my people to be on their guard, as to the object of the meeting, as I considered it of a dangerous character. I cannot positively state who originated the meeting; however, names were put forward. Mr. Dease is a half-breed. The chief names were Paschal Breland, W. Hallet and Joseph Genton. It was rumoured that Dr. Schultz was the prime mover in the matter. After this meeting, which failed in its object, came the discontent on the occasion of the survey by Canada. From and after the month of June, until the autumn, there were repeated difficulties with reference to the surveyors. The inhabitants demanded of the surveyors on what authority they came to survey the lands of the country. The surveyors never produced any paper or gave any satisfactory answer. The inhabitants also made enquiry of the Council of Assinibolia as to who had authorized the surveying of the lands, and were unable to get any satisfactory answer. Contrary to what usually happens, this movement originated with the people themselves—the agricultural classes. They did not consult me on that matter, and I took no part whatever in political matters at the time. These were the first causes of the difficulties to my knowledge. The discontent was increased by the news that Mr. McDougall had left Canada with an escort and a quantity of arms for the purpose of taking possession of the country. At the same time a party of Canadians, resident in Winnipeg, stated that they were going to meet and join Mr. McDougall under

arms. I have my knowledge of these circumstances merely from rumour. About the 15th or 20th of October, the news was told in the country that Mr. McDougall had arrived at the frontier of the country with an escort and a large quantity of arms. On the 19th of the same month I learned that runners had been sent to Mr. McDougall to invite him not to enter the country, and that they had been despatched according to a resolution passed at a meeting held at St. Vital. I was not present at the meeting, and was not aware of the adoption of the resolution. The old custom of the country was that when any difficulty arose in which it was necessary to take up arms, the inhabitants used to organize of their own accord, after the manner in which they organized for the hunting in the prairies. This custom was chiefly confined to such of the French and English half-breeds as were in the habit of hunting. Those meetings never had reference to municipal affairs at all, and were only held when it was necessary to take up arms to repel enemies from outside. In 1863, when the Sioux made a descent upon the country, the Council of the half-breeds organized a meeting at St. Norbert, and met a deputation of the Sioux. Governor Dallas and Mr. McTavish also met the Sioux there along with the half-breeds.

The meeting of the Metis at St. Vital was held of their own motion, as was their custom, and it is not within my knowledge that they were advised to do so by anybody.

About the 20th of that same month a party of men assembled on the banks of the River Salle, for the purpose of meeting Mr. McDougall's party if they advanced into the country. I think they did so of their own accord. I did not advise them to do so; in fact, the thing was done entirely unknown to me. The first knowledge I had of the matter was from seeing them wandering about my premises. The meeting was held about half a mile from my house. They told me that they had chosen that place because it is the first place on the Pembina Road, where they would be protected by the junction of two rivers, and by a bush on both sides of the road. They had not previously been excited by speeches and addresses at church doors or elsewhere, to my knowledge. Since the month of July, several other meetings had been held in the town of Winnipeg, the object of them being to elicit the nature of the negotiations between the Canadian Government and the Hudson's Bay Company, and to devise some means of asserting their rights. The gathering to which I have referred having taken place before my own eyes in my own parish, I made enquiries as to the origin of the movement, and what motive they had in it. The party who seemed to be the leader of the band told me that he was there by orders of his chief. I asked him where are your chiefs? "Four of them," he said, "have gone to invite Mr. McDougall not to enter the country." He saw from my countenance that I was extremely surprised, and said "Are we doing wrong?" I answered, "In order to be enabled to say whether you are doing well or ill, I must be made aware of why you are here. However, you seem to me to be engaged in a very dangerous pursuit." I said no more at that time, but from that moment I saw it was a very serious matter, and I determined to do nothing which would compromise my influence with them, as that influence could be used later. I may state that this is not the time to defend myself in the matter, but if I had not been present consequences much more serious would have occurred. I received a letter from Governor McTavish begging me to remain among the half-breeds; and at least keep them within the bounds of moderation. I recollect the arrival of Archbishop Taché at the Red River from Rome, which, I think, was about the 9th March, 1870. I saw him on the evening of his arrival. He consulted with me at my own house. I have a knowledge of many statements being made by the Archbishop to the chiefs, and I know that he spoke in public several times. He said that upon these occasions that he was sent by Canada to give assurance that the intention of the Canadian Government was not in any way to ill-treat the people of the North-West; that, on the contrary, the desire of the Canadian Government was that they should send delegates to Ottawa. He further assured them that the delegates would be well received on the part of the Government, and that the expenses of their journey to and from Ottawa would be paid. From the time of the Archbishop's arrival till the time I left for Ottawa with the delegation, I had very little communication with him or the

leaders of the Provisional Government. I was not present at any of their deliberations, and therefore did not hear whether he said anything about the amnesty for offences committed.

I was, as I have stated, one of the three delegates who went from the Red River to Ottawa. I left Red River on the 24th of March, 1870, and arrived at Ottawa on the 11th April. We had interviews with two members of the Canadian Government, who were delegated by their colleagues to treat with us. The first interview I had with any member of the Canadian Government was on the 12th, when I saw the Hon. Mr. Howe at his office. On the same day I saw Sir George E. Cartier. There was no discussion of the question of amnesty at those meetings. At the third interview, Sir George Cartier came to see me at the Bishop's palace. This was on the 22nd April. There was no reference made to the amnesty on that occasion. I saw Sir George Cartier at his own house. I was in company with Mr. Black. This was on the 23rd. The amnesty was then treated of. We treated of matters in general, but I said the first thing was the amnesty, and that without it nothing could be done. Sir John was present at the time. The hon. gentleman told me that the amnesty did not rest with Canada, but that they would find means to arrange the matter. Sir George said these were only preparatory interviews with a view to arranging the matter. (What I have given you is a summary of what took place at those interviews.) My next interview was on the 25th. I was with Mr. Black; Sir John A. Macdonald and Sir George Cartier were present. The interview took place at Sir George's house. They told me these interviews were semi-official. The hon. gentlemen wished on that day to treat for arrangements, but I refused, complaining that I had no written acknowledgment of my position as delegate, and I desired to know with whom I was to communicate. I desired to know how I was looked upon. The hon. gentlemen said I was sufficiently recognized by what had taken place and what had been said in the House. I then insisted on having a written acknowledgment of my *status*. The amnesty was spoken of on the 25th. I said we might speak on it, but we could settle nothing definitely as to that matter. I said the *sine qua non* of an agreement was a general amnesty. The Hon. Ministers said they would give me an answer on the following day. They also said we give you the means of obtaining an amnesty, but they did not state positively what those means were. We told them we knew nothing of the proceedings to be taken, and that we would not ourselves take any action, and ~~said~~ if the Ministers had not the power to settle all our difficulties, I had no business in Ottawa, and would return to the Red River on the following morning. They said they would give me an answer the next day. I saw them next on the 26th. At that interview there were present Mr. Black, Mr. Scott, and myself. It took place at Sir George Cartier's house, and Sir George and Sir John A. Macdonald were also present. As I entered the room on the occasion, Sir John A. Macdonald presented me with the document, which I produce with my delegation commission.

(No. 55.)

"OTTAWA, April, 26th, 1870.

"GENTLEMEN,—I have to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 22nd instant, stating that as delegates from the North-West to the Government of the Dominion of Canada, you are desirous of having an early audience with the Government, and am to inform you in reply that the Hon. Sir John A. Macdonald and Sir Geo. Et. Cartier have been authorized by the Government to confer with you on the subject of your mission and will be ready to receive you at eleven o'clock.

"I have the honor to be,

"Gentlemen,

"Your most obdt. servant.

"(Signed,)

JOSEPH HOWE.

"To the Revd.

"N. J. Ritchot, Ptr.,

"J. Black, Esq.,

"Alfred Scott, Esq."

(No. 56.)

(Translation.)

To Revd. N. J. Ritchot, Plr., &amp;c.:

"Sir,—The President of the Provisional Government of Assiniboia in Council, by these presents grants authority and commission to you the Reverend N. J. Ritchot, jointly with John Black Esquire, and the Honorable A. Scott, to the end that you be take yourselves to Ottawa, in Canada; and that when there you should lay before the Canadian Parliament the list entrusted to your keeping with these presents, which list contains the conditions and propositions under which the people of Assiniboia would consent to enter into Confederation with the other Provinces of Canada.

"Signed, this twenty-second day of March, in the Year of Our Lord one thousand eight hundred and seventy.

"By Order,

"(Signed,)"

THOMAS BUNN,

"Secretary of State.

"Seat of Government, Winnipeg,

"Assiniboia."

The Minister said in reply to our questions that they were in a position to assure us that an amnesty would be granted immediately after the passing of the Manitoba Bill. The nineteenth clause of our instructions is as follows:—

"That all debts contracted by the Provisional Government of the Territory of the North-West, now called Assiniboia, in consequence of illegal and unconsidered measures adopted by Canadian Officials to bring about a civil war in our midst, be paid out of the Dominion Treasury; and that none of the Members of the Provisional Government or any of those acting under them be in any way held liable or responsible with regard to the movement or any of the actions which led to the present negotiations."

I asked that this clause should form part of the Bill, but they replied that it was not expedient that it should form part of the Bill, inasmuch as the Bill belonged to the House, while the amnesty was a matter for the administration. I asked for a written assurance, but they answered that it was not necessary, and that we might trust to their word. They also said there would be no difficulty whatever, with regard to the amnesty, and that it was a matter which rested with the Crown. We then went on discussing the other matters of our mission. That was all that was then said with regard to the amnesty. They did not speak at all with regard to the proclamation of December 6th, 1869. They told me it would be an insult to Her Majesty if they gave me a written guarantee. They said that if a written promise of the amnesty were required before the passing of the Manitoba Bill it would be imposing conditions on the Crown. They did not upon this occasion or during any of the prior conversation refer to the death of Scott as the difficulty in the way of the amnesty. They only asked me if I was present at the death of Scott and I answered I was not. They said with regard to the popular outcry respecting the death of Scott, that while regretting that event they, as men of business, could pay no attention to it, and that this matter would not prevent them from making suitable arrangements and settling all the questions. They requested me to keep perfect silence as to the communications I had had with them, and let the public mind settle down. The next interview took place on the 27th. The same persons were present on each side. Nothing was said as to the amnesty. The next meeting was on the 28th. The same delegates were present. On this occasion nothing was said about the amnesty. Sir John A. Macdonald was taken ill during the interview and left. The next interview was on the 30th. The three delegates met Sir George Cartier; Sir John A. Macdonald was still ill. We spoke of the amnesty. Immediately after the interview I took notes of what had been said. I made notes after all our interviews. The note referring to the interview of the 30th is as follows:—"A word about the amnesty all in the same sense." I remember Sir George told me not to be uneasy for everything would be granted as it

had been promised. The next interview took place on 2nd May. Sir John A. Macdonald, Sir George Cartier and the three delegates from the North-West were present. There was nothing said about the amnesty. On the third of May I again met Sir George Cartier, but nothing was said about the amnesty. On the same day we had an official interview with His Excellency the Governor General and Sir Clinton Murdoch. They and the three delegates were the only persons present. His Excellency introduced Sir Clinton Murdoch as the special envoy of the Crown, and was deputed to hear us. His Excellency said, "If you can come to an understanding with my Ministers do so; but if you cannot I am ready to hear you, and Sir Clinton Murdoch has to do you justice. If you have anything to state we are ready to hear you." Thereupon we said we had consented to the Manitoba Bill, with the Ministers, but as to the other questions, particularly the amnesty; we were not satisfied because we have no written guarantee. His Excellency then pointed to Sir Clinton Murdoch and said, "He knows it is the intention of Her Majesty to declare a general amnesty in order to establish peace in the country. Besides you have seen my proclamation, are you familiar with it?" I answered that I had knowledge of the proclamation, but I did not remember it word for word. I also said that in my opinion the proclamation of the 6th December was only promising the amnesty, and what I wanted was the promulgation of the actual amnesty promised. Sir Clinton Murdoch said, "You have nothing to fear, Her Majesty wishes but one thing, and that is to pass the sponge over all that has happened in the North-West, and establish peace. She wishes to place that Province in a position to attain prosperity like the other English Provinces." I remember particularly the expression of passing the sponge over all that had happened. It struck me at the time. I said I was pained because I had nothing in writing to show the people. He answered "When you are treating with men such as those in whose presence you are to day there is no necessity for written guarantees." Using the French expression he told me you must not (*Tant mettre les points sur les i,*) be so particular. "You must leave us a certain latitude and you will gain by it." I then stated, "Since there is nothing to fear I trust to your words." I looked upon this Proclamation as an assurance that an amnesty would be granted. I did not look upon it as an amnesty proclaimed. We wanted a direct proclamation of amnesty. That was my view at the time.

N. J. RITCHOT.

COMMITTEE ROOM,

TUESDAY, 21st April, 1874.

Examination of Revd. N. J. Ritchot resumed.

After the interview with the Governor General and Sir Clinton Murdoch, I had an interview with Sir George Cartier, who asked me if I had not been content with the results of the interview which I had just had with His Excellency and Sir Clinton. I told him I was sufficiently pleased if what they stated regarding the granting of the amnesty were put in writing. Sir George then replied the British Government and the Government of Canada would treat our people like spoiled children, and give them more than they expected. On the 5th we had again an interview with Sir George Cartier at which Sir John Macdonald was present, the three delegates were all present also, but there was nothing done with reference to the amnesty. On the 6th there was another meeting at which the same parties were present. No reference was made to the amnesty however. We had also several other meetings, but at none of them was anything said with reference to that matter. Sometime between the 3rd and the 10th—I cannot recollect the exact date—I had a meeting with Sir Clinton Murdoch at the Bishop's Palace, at which the question of amnesty was again discussed.

I was alone with Sir Clinton upon that occasion. I cannot recollect the exact terms of our conversation, but I know that I drew his particular attention to the question of the promised amnesty. On the 18th I addressed a letter to Sir George Cartier on the subject, which I now produce.

(No. 57.)

(Translation.)

" OTTAWA, 18th May, 1870.

" To Sir George E. Cartier,

" Minister of Militia, &amp;c., &amp;c.

" SIR,—We had agreed, as you are aware, to leave the selection and division of the lands to be divided amongst the children of the half-breeds to the Local Legislature; you thought proper, for good reasons I doubt not, to substitute for that mode of division the 27th section, which leaves that selection and division to the Governor General in Council. In view of our objections and observations Sir John and you promised to cause to be authorized by the Governor in Council before our departure, a Committee composed of men whom ~~we~~ ourselves were to propose to select these lands and divide them among the children of the half-breeds. Sir John then proposed to appoint Bishop Taché as one of the members of the Committee. In that case the Bishop of Rupert's Land might also be selected with other citizens to form the Committee.

" I trust you will be able to settle this matter before our departure.

" The fourth sub-section of section 28, which relates to lands held in that part of the Province in which the Indian title has not been extinguished should also be dealt with before we start.

" Under our arrangement these lands so held were also to be left free of charge to persons now in possession. Sir John and you promised that this should be so, and stated that it was already agreed to by the Ministry. The measure is of the greatest importance for us.

" The questions raised by the 19th clause of our instructions are of the highest importance, I trust, sir, and the past is my warrant for the future, that you will be able to secure us, before our departure, all the guarantees promised by Sir John and you in relation to these highly important questions.

" I have the honor to be, sir,

" Your most obedient servant,

" N. J. RITCHOT."

On the 19th Sir George, before answering the above, came for Mr. Scott and myself, and took us to Rideau Hall, the residence of the Governor, and had an interview with His Excellency. Sir George Cartier was present. We discussed specially the question of amnesty, and drew His Excellency's attention to the fact that the Ministers had promised its proclamation. I reminded His Excellency that he had himself been pleased to guarantee the granting of it, and consequently I hoped to obtain it before my departure, as I thought I had a right to expect. His Excellency then showed me his proclamation of the 6th December, telling me it had not been revoked, and consequently it would have all its effect. I called His Excellency's attention to the fact that I had never been willing to accept that proclamation as sufficient to satisfy our population, and that as a promise of amnesty had been made, it was necessary to have something more satisfactory. He replied that such a proclamation could not be long delayed, but that he could not issue it immediately as it had to come from England. I reminded him that there was a telegraphic cable to England, that it was easy to communicate with the authorities there, and that something in writing ought to be given to us. He told me that such matters were not conducted by cable, that it was necessary that the proclamation should be signed by Her Majesty's own hand, that it would be issued immediately, and that it would arrive in Manitoba before us. I observed that it would be impossible for it to get to Manitoba before us, His Excellency then said it would arrive, at all events, before the Lieutenant Governor. I again observed to His Excellency that I could not leave without some written guarantee that the amnesty would be granted. His Excellency said he would next day send us some written assurance that the amnesty would be granted, and that in the meantime he would give me something which would satisfy the people of Manitoba, that nobody would trouble them pending the proclamation of that amnesty.

After that His Excellency again dwelt on his proclamation of the 6th December, saying that it was the best possible guarantee, and that there was nothing to be feared. There was also some discussion upon the other branches of our mission.

His Excellency had previously pressed upon me to leave for Manitoba immediately, because the troops were going there, and he was afraid that trouble might occur. I said I would not leave unless having the documents promised. I accepted the assurances and explanations I have just detailed, and left.

On the 20th, 21st and 22nd nothing particular was done with regard to this question. On the 23rd I went to Sir George Cartier, and complained that I had not received the document I was expecting from His Excellency. I found him engaged writing a reply to my letter, which he gave me, and which I now produce.

(No. 58.)

*Letter from Sir G. E. Cartier to Messrs. Ritchot and Scott.*

(Translation.)

"DEPARTMENT OF MILITIA AND DEFENCE,

"OTTAWA, 23rd May, 1870.

"GENTLEMEN,—With reference to the representations you have submitted respecting the fourth paragraph of Section 32 of the Act to establish and provide for the Government of Manitoba, in which it is stated that 'all persons in peaceable possession of tracts of land at the time of the transfer to Canada, in those parts of the Province in which the Indian title has not been extinguished, shall have the right of pre-emption of the same, on such terms and conditions as may be determined by the Governor in Council,' I am in a position to give you the assurance, on the part of the members of the Government, that so soon as the Government can grant the necessary titles, no payment shall be required from any of the persons mentioned in that paragraph, but that they shall be placed upon the same footing as the persons mentioned in the three preceding paragraphs.

"I desire to call your attention to the interview you had with His Excellency the Governor General on the 19th instant, at which I was present, and in which His Excellency was pleased to state that the liberal policy which the Government proposed to follow in relation to the persons for whom you are interesting yourself is correct, and is that which ought to be adopted.

"I have the honor to be, Gentlemen,

"Your obedient servant,

"(Signed,) GEO. ET. CARTIER,

"Minister of Militia and Defence.

"To Messrs. Ritchot and Scott.

"P.S.—You can at any time make use of this letter, in such manner as you shall think proper, in any explanation you may have to give connected with the object for which you were sent as delegates to the Canadian Government.

"(Signed,) G. E. C.  
"I have, moreover, the honor to assure you, as well on my own behalf as on behalf of my colleagues, that as to the million four hundred thousand acres of land reserved by the 31st section of the Manitoba Act, for the benefit of the families of half-breed residents, the regulations to be established from time to time by the Governor General in Council, respecting that reserve, will be of a nature to meet the wishes of the half-breed residents, and to guarantee, in the most effectual and equitable manner, the division of that extent of land amongst the children of the heads of families of the half-breed residents in the Province of Manitoba at the time when the transfer is to be made to Canada.

"I have the honor to be, Gentlemen,

"Your obedient servant,

"(Signed,) GEO. ET. CARTIER,

"Minister of Militia and Defence."

Sir George's letter at first consisted only of the first two parts, the last postscript which now appears upon it not having been then added. Immediately I received the reply, I complained that one of the paragraphs of my letter was not answered, and in consequence he added the last postscript. I also complained that, in my opinion, the answer relating to the question of amnesty was not clear enough. He stated, in reply, that it contained the whole sense of the promise of amnesty as I had understood it at the moment. He got Mr. Futvoye to come in and copy the last postscript, and I think Mr. Futvoye must have heard some of our conversation. Of course, I am not certain that he did. I accepted that letter of Sir George Cartier's, but still required the documents I expected from His Excellency pending the proclamation of the amnesty. Instead of that document, however, Mr. J. C. Taché brought me, in Sir George Cartier's name, a petition to the Queen to be signed by me. I at first distinctly refused to sign that petition. I was then the only delegate remaining in Ottawa, Mr. Black having left for Scotland, and Mr. Scott for New York. Mr. Taché told me, from Sir George Cartier, that this petition was only a means of bringing the negotiations for a proclamation of amnesty to a successful close, and if the Government had not wished to support it, they would not have drafted it for me to sign; that, besides, it was only a mere matter of form. I had several clauses of the petition corrected, and Mr. Taché took it back to Sir George Cartier in its amended form. I produce a copy of the document as corrected and signed by me.

I may add that I stated that, if it was the best means to obtaining the amnesty, I was prepared to sign it, but without taking any of the responsibility.

(No. 58 A.)

"To Her Most Gracious Majesty, the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain  
"and Ireland,

"May it please Your Majesty:—

"The Petition of the Revd. Abbé Ritchot, acting as well in his own name as for and  
"on behalf of the Honorable Judge Black and Alfred Scott, Esquire, most humbly  
"representeth:—

"That Your Majesty's petitioner, in conjunction with his colleagues, the Honorable  
"Judge Black, now on his way to England, and Alfred Scott, Esquire, now absent from  
"the City of Ottawa, came, on the invitation of Your Majesty's Representative, the Right  
"Honorable Sir John Young, Governor General of the Dominion of Canada, as delegates  
"from the Red River and the North-West Territory.

"The subject of their mission was to lay before His Excellency the complaints and  
"wishes of the settlers of the territory, and to obtain such legislation as would redress  
"their grievances and meet their wants.

"That Your petitioners have to express their gratitude for the kindness and good-  
"will shewn to them by His Excellency the Governor General and His Ministers, during  
"their intercourse with them on the subject of their mission.

"That the principal object of their mission was to obtain, for the settlers at Red  
"River and the North-West Territory, such political institutions as would place them in  
"a position to become part of the great Confederation of the Dominion of Canada.

"A measure has happily been passed, by which a part of the North-West Territory  
"and Red River will be admitted as one of the Provinces of the Dominion of Canada,  
"under the name of Manitoba, with the same rights and privileges, with few exceptions,  
"as were granted to the Provinces already comprised in the Confederation.

"That Your petitioners are satisfied that the passing of that measure will be received  
"with joy and gratitude by the settlers and all concerned, and will meet with their  
"wishes and do away with any grievance.

"That for upwards of seven months the Red River Settlement, owing to unfortunate  
"circumstances, has been thrown into a state of confusion, and has been without a  
"regular Government or authority.



"That in undergoing the necessity in which they were of forming a sort of Provisional Government, there was no intention to act in any hostile or insurrectionary manner toward Your Majesty's authority, but the sole object was to provide for the local wants of the Territory—left as it were without the protection of any actual ruling power.

"That during that period, acts of an illegal character have been committed by conflicting parties, each thinking they were in the right, and acting as they thought for their own protection.

"That these acts, if brought before the tribunals of justice, might perpetuate feelings of vengeance and irritation for a long period to come, and might defeat the object to be obtained by the measure intended as one of pacification, and would retard the progress of the establishment of that vast country.

"That Your Petitioners would therefore, with a view to obtain complete peace and establish good will between all conflicting parties in the settlement, earnestly pray Your Majesty to be pleased to exercise the Royal prerogative of mercy, by a remission and forgiveness of all acts partaking of an illegal character that may have been committed by any party in the Settlement during the time of the disturbances.

"That Your Petitioners, appealing on behalf of the settlers of Red River and the North-West Territory to Your Majesty's mercy, would observe that they were invited to do so by the terms of the Proclamation of His Excellency the Right Honourable Sir John Young, Governor-General of the Dominion of Canada, of the 6th December, 1869, in which among other things it was stated that Your Majesty was ready through Your Representative to hear and consider any complaints with a view to redress all well-founded grievances, and by which also Your Majesty was graciously pleased to announce that no legal proceedings will be taken against any parties implicated in those unfortunate breaches of the law.

"Your Petitioners beg further to represent that if the disturbances alluded to in that Proclamation have not subsided sooner, it must be borne in mind that it arose from the difficulty of communication, especially during the fall and winter, between the inhabitants of Red River and the Government of Canada. They do not doubt that had they or other delegates been able to come sooner, the difficulties would have long since been settled, and they hope Your Majesty will be induced not to impute to the unwillingness of the settlers the delay that prevented them sending their delegates to the Governor and the Government of Canada, to lay before them their grievances and complaints, as they were called upon to do by the invitation of Your Majesty's Representative.

"That your Petitioners also further represent to Your Majesty that when they left the Settlement of Red River, all the inhabitants there were under the conviction and believed most sincerely that their political grievances would be redressed by a measure from the Parliament of the Dominion of Canada, and that Your Majesty would be induced to crown the political measure of peace by the exercise of Your Royal Prerogative of mercy, which was so graciously offered by Your Majesty in the Proclamation.

"Wherefore your Petitioners, on behalf of the settlers of Red River and the North-West Territory, humbly pray Your Majesty to exercise Your Royal Prerogative of mercy by an act of amnesty, to remit and pardon all illegal acts that may have been committed during the time of the disturbances.

"And your Petitioners, as in duty bound, will ever pray and be grateful.

"Ottawa, 26th May, 1870."

"(Signed,)"

N. J. RITCHOT.

I had no other conversation with the Governor other than those I have mentioned, nor yet had I any interviews with Sir Clinton Murdoch or Sir John Macdonald, other than those I have detailed. I had a further interview with Sir George Cartier about the petition, at which he assured me I would be troubled with nothing on its account; that it was only a means to having the proclamation issued, and that everything would be as I

desired. That interview was on the 28th. On the 25th, 26th, 27th and 28th, I had interviews with Sir George, at each of which he spoke in the same sense of the petition and the amnesty. He told me I should be quiet and not rack my head about anything; that the men with whom I was dealing knew something about business. This was at the last interview before I left.

I had some conversation with Sir George Cartier, in the presence of Mr. Scott, as to what I should do on my arrival at Manitoba. I do not remember whether Sir John Macdonald was then present or not. This was when we were discussing the Manitoba Bill. I then asked Sir George who was to govern the country, pending the arrival of the Lieut. Governor, and if he was to name somebody to do so. He answered, "No, let Mr. Riel continue to maintain order and govern the country as he has done up to the present moment." He asked me if I thought that Riel was sufficiently powerful to maintain order. I said I thought he was. Then he answered, "Let him continue till the Governor arrives." He also inquired whether Mr. Riel would require that the Governor should take authority as his successor. I answered that he would not; that his government was only a provisional one, and that he would immediately withdraw when the representative of Her Majesty arrived. "Very well," said Sir George; "let him be at the head of his people to receive the Governor." Before my departure on the 28th also, he recommended me to tell Riel and the people that they had nothing to fear. He even told me that it would be desirable if the half-breeds would meet the troops and serve as guides. He asked me whether provisions for the troops could be found there at the least for a fortnight or a month, until they could procure them from the States. I told him I thought so, but that the stores would be expensive. He told me to write to him on the subject as soon as I should get there. He gave me other instructions and suggestions as to my course. The *resumé* of what Sir George told me is this; "You have obtained all you desired; your amnesty will be proclaimed; it will be there before the Lieut. Governor arrives. In the meantime tell your people to remain quiet and to fear nothing. Let Riel maintain peace and not make *des sottises*." That is the word he made use of. Because he has to-day to fear enemies who will make him believe that we are hostile to them. The Fenians also will make efforts there to deceive him." It was in the time of the Fenians here, and he had reason to fear that Riel would be led away by them. I told him very often that Riel would not enter into the plans of the Fenians, "but," I said, "nevertheless I have not yet what would be of a nature to satisfy the people. I hope everything will go right, but I am not satisfied myself." I told him that I had expected myself to bring a proclamation of amnesty with the Manitoba Act. He told me that what I had was equivalent to the proclamation of an amnesty, as an amnesty would arrive before any other authority in the North-West, and that meanwhile Riel was master and had nothing to complain of. That is a *resumé*. I saw Sir George several times. He said he had a very plain reason for not giving me any more definite written statements, which was that the Canadian Government could not give the amnesty themselves; that the proclamation of the Governor was sufficient, and that he could not give a better one. The reason he gave me to sign the petition myself to the Queen, was in order that the Government and the Governor might not be compromised. He told me that on account of the excitement of feeling it was advisable to take all the means possible, which would arrive at the same end without exciting prejudices; that in a country like this, where there were different interests and several parties, provided you arrived at the same end, it was advisable to take those means which would least run counter to the opinions of some of the people. That secondly, the means he was taking to have the amnesty proclaimed was the safest and quickest way of obtaining the desired result without creating dissatisfaction; that by all that had occurred in our interviews, I should see that their own interests more than ours were to have an amnesty proclaimed; that they had commenced the grand work of Confederation; that without amnesty all their work would be lost, and that the people in the North-West were to remain tranquil until the amnesty should arrive. That was the result of a very large number of conversations on the subject in various forms, because I was quite dissatisfied at not having obtained what I required. I did

not expect to have to answer these questions, but I guarantee the substantial accuracy of what I say. I told Sir George that I believed what he said, but was very anxious to have it believed up there. Then he said, "Assure Riel and his followers that the amnesty will certainly be granted, and that if he wishes to reflect he will see that we have more interest than he in granting the amnesty; besides you know what the Governor and Sir Clinton-Murdoch, and all those to whom you have spoken have said on the subject, and, moreover, always remember my answer to your letter, where the Governor says that the conduct of the Government will be of the most liberal character," and he added, moreover, "You are too particular, you have as much as you can desire, and you will see that Riel will be satisfied." I left Ottawa in the beginning of June, the first or second. I cannot remember exactly. Before I left, Sir George asked me to write to him at all the stations where I could obtain news. I wrote him at St. Paul, St. Cloud, Georgetown, and on my arrival. I have drafts of what I wrote. Two or three of these letters speak of the amnesty, and I gave in them my idea of the feeling of the people, which I learned on the way and on my arrival. I produce the letters. Sir George never answered my letters directly, but he answered me through Mgr. Taché, acknowledging my letters and thanking me for them.

(No. 59.)

(Translation.)

ST. PAUL, MINNESOTA, 5th June, 1870.

"To the Honorable Sir Geo. Cartier,  
"Ottawa, Canada.

"SIR,—The newspapers of St. Paul are doing all in their power to excite trouble; they especially blame the sending of the troops, and exert all their efforts to make the matter seem a treacherous one on the part of England. They declare that the Manitobans should accept no conditions before the granting by England of a general amnesty, &c., &c.

"You know my private opinion on the subject; nevertheless, as soon as possible, a telegram from England, which you may have the goodness to send us, or something promising us an assurance of the amnesty, would benefit our cause greatly.

(Continuation of the same Letter.)

ST. CLOUD, 7th June, 1870.

"In the matter of the amnesty, and the condition of the distribution of lands, you know well how strongly we insisted on the scheme that we proposed to you at the first; I beg to call your attention again to the first of these points.

"What I learn here proves that they do not yet know at Red River the results of our negotiations. They anxiously wait our arrival; the sending the troops has created much uneasiness. They assure me that scouts have been sent out on all the routes leading to Fort Garry. Twenty-five men have, it is said, left in bark canoes to watch the expedition which is to leave Lake Superior.—I believe the story.

"The half-breeds would be disposed to resist in case of an attack on the part of Canada; and in such case they would not wait for succour.

"In case of an arrangement being effected, they will willingly receive the Governor coming from Canada.

"The half-breeds whom I have seen here tell me that His Lordship has great influence; that Riel wishes seriously to come to terms with Canada; that he would not wish to accept the assistance of the Fenians.

"Mr. McTavish (the Governor), whom I have met here at St. Cloud, tells me that Riel is sincere, and that he wishes to remain in submission to the Crown of England. He has confidence in the loyalty of Riel. He has no doubt but that our conditions will be accepted. They tell me that no arrangement would be accepted which did not embrace a

"general amnesty. This is why it is so necessary that haste should be used to cause the assurance of this amnesty to reach us.

"They say that the Fenians openly show their intention to help Riel, and the latter has but to say the word to obtain as great a number of them as he requires.

"I have the honor to be, Sir,

"Your most humble servant,

"(Signed,) N. J. RITCHOT, Ptre."

(No. 60.)

(Translation.)

"GEORGETOWN, 13th June, 1870.

"To Sir George Cartier,  
"Ottawa, Canada.

"SIR,—We shall leave to-morrow in the steamboat for Fort Garry, where we shall arrive on the 16th or 17th. They are looking out for us most eagerly.

"The inhabitants of the Red River country whom I have met here, tell me that the expedition has given rise to great suspicions. Mr. Riel and his followers wish, however, to wait our coming before taking any determined measures.

"It is certain that the Fenians have offered assistance to the inhabitants of the North-West, assistance in money, in arms, and in men. I am informed that some individuals had conferences with them. Riel does not wish the help of the Fenians, but keeps all his people ready for any event. On the 1st of May he had, as yet, no particulars about our arrangements.

"The representations of a certain number of newspapers, of newspapers even which ought to support their position, render the inhabitants of Manitoba inimical. They persist in declaring that they have never rebelled against any authority; they are displeased at seeing that the Canadians accuse them of having been rebels, because they have driven back adventurers from Canada who came without any right to disturb them and to make war upon them in their own country. The want of tact on the part of some French Canadian newspapers has injured their cause much.

"It seems certain that the Fenians are making preparations to go and meet your troops; but they look for the countenance of the half-breeds: I am convinced that they will not succeed in gaining it. The half-breeds are serious; they will be satisfied, I trust, with our arrangements. All those whom I have met with are content, and would willingly accept them. They would have been equally content to see the troops come in, but they think that these troops ought not to have been sent before the arrangements, they look upon it as a threat, and say that Canada had no call to threaten in their case. In spite of all this, I hope that matters will go on well. I must, however, beg leave to remark, that the injurious expressions made use of against the Manitobans and their leaders, the arguments of certain newspapers, &c., place us in a position of great embarrassment."

"I have the honor to be, Sir,

"Your most humble servant,

"(Signed,) N. J. RITCHOT, Ptre."

I arrived at Fort Garry on the 17th of June. I saw Riel himself, who came to meet me at the steamboat with a certain number of other persons, including several members of the Provisional Government. I communicated my information to them immediately. On the question of amnesty I assured Riel and his friends that it would be proclaimed, that it was promised as a *sine qua non* condition of our arrangements. Mr. Riel asked me if there was anything written on that subject. I answered him that I had something written that would not perhaps satisfy him if he had not explanations, but after the explanations, I would give him, I hoped he would be satisfied. I then gave him a few explanations, to which he answered that, since I had thought the thing suf-

ficient, he hoped it was so,—at all events he would take the thing into consideration, and in the meantime he was satisfied with the general result of what had taken place. This authorized me to answer Sir George Cartier, a letter dated 18th June, 1870; which I now produce.

(No. 61.)

(Translation.)

"FORT GARRY, 18th June, 1870.

"To Sir George E. Cartier,  
"Minister of Militia, Ottawa.

"SIR,—I have the honor and pleasure to inform you that the Manitoba Act, &c., has been well received here.

"Mr. President Riel has shown himself satisfied with it. He is about to call together his Council and the Legislative Assembly of the Provisional Government, in order to get them to accept it, and, with them, to place it before the people. He is disposed to do all in his power in order that it should have the best possible effect on the population.

"Our Governor will certainly meet with a cordial and sympathetic reception. He should come by way of St. Paul, Minnesota; I will write you further on this subject by the first mail. I will beg leave to suggest to you the most convenient steps for him to take in order to proceed from St. Paul's to Fort Garry. They even speak of sending some one as far as Ottawa to meet him; but this is absolutely secret.

"The setting out of the troops before the arrangements were completed is displeasing to the people; however, the explanations which I have given on this point, and the assurances that they are coming for a pacific and useful purpose satisfies them. We have even a wish to send a certain number of half-breeds to meet them, in order to introduce them within the country. I am convinced that all will go well, provided always that the ~~unusually~~ reaches us in good season.

"A house will be provided in Fort Garry (which will be best) or in the town of Winnipeg. Trappers who have come in from Rainy Lake state that there is a certain number of Indians rather badly disposed; but that nevertheless they go to meet the troops in order to treat.

"I have the honor to be, Sir,

"Your most humble servant,

"(Signed,) N. J. RITCHOT."

I received from Secretary Thomas Bunn, the following letter, dated 23rd June, of which I produce copy.

(No. 62.)

Rev. N. J. Ritchot,  
St. Norbert.

GOVERNMENT HOUSE,  
June 23rd, 1870.

"REVEREND SIR,—I beg to inform you that the Legislative Assembly was convened this day for the purpose of considering the report of the delegation sent from this Government to Canada, of which delegation you are a member. The President informed the House however that you did not at present intend to report; first, on account of bad health,—which I very much regret,—and secondly, that you preferred waiting for the arrival of at least one of your fellow-delegates before reporting officially. The House consequently adjourned till to-morrow at one o'clock, p.m., and expressed the hope that they might then have the pleasure of either meeting you personally or having your report in writing. I need hardly say to you that they are exceedingly

"anxious to hear the result of your mission to Canada, and feel the utmost confidence in your good faith. I have therefore been directed to request you to report to the House to-morrow, in person if your health will permit, or in writing.

"I have the honor to be, reverend Sir,

"Your obedient servant,

"THOMAS BUNN,

"Secretary."

I went to Fort Garry to their ordinary hall, and there I explained to them a few provisions of the Manitoba Act, and especially insisted on the question of amnesty, and recalled as much as possible all that had been told me on that subject. I explained especially the letter I had received from Sir George Cartier as a proof that the amnesty would be granted. I said to Mr. Riel and his friends that I had asked if they were to continue to maintain order in the country, and that I had been answered that up to the arrival of the Governor he was to maintain order as he had done up to that time; that nevertheless on the arrival of the Governor he should receive him, not as his successor, but as the competent authority arriving in the country. Mr. Riel complained that he remained charged with maintaining order under such difficult circumstances, but said that nevertheless he would continue up to the arrival of the representative of Her Majesty. These were his words, still he said the Government of Canada, placed him in a very bad position. He did not give any other explanations.

Then he told his councillors and the people who were there to continue to maintain order. Here are his words: "Consequently my friends, by what our delegate tells us, let us continue to maintain order, and I recommend to you peace and moderation in all your doings. I hope that very soon we will be discharged from the heavy burthen that lies upon us." Then the Council told him that they accepted the Manitoba Act, and were satisfied with that, as also with all our arrangements, provided they accorded with the interpretation I had put upon them. That put me in a position to write to Sir George this letter of the 28th June.

(No. 63.)

(Translation.)

"ST. BONIFACE, 28th June, 1870.

"To Sir George E. Cartier,

"Minister of Militia, &c., Ottawa.

"Sir,—On Friday last, the 21th inst., I was summoned before the Legislative Assembly of the Provisional Government to give some explanations in the matter of the Manitoba Act. All declared themselves very well satisfied. Their fears are disappearing. Sympathy with Canada is lively and sincere. Mr. Riel wishes to see the Governor arrive as soon as possible, in order to relieve himself of the responsibility which weighs upon him.

"His Lordship has sent you two telegrams and a letter, which will make you fully acquainted with what goes on here. Besides, His Lordship, who leaves this very day for Canada, will see you, and will give you explanations and details in reference to the country much better than I can attempt to do in writing. I embrace this opportunity to express to you my lively gratitude for the regard and sympathy which you have shown towards this country in the efforts which you have displayed to cause a bill to be adopted, which our friends regard as very favorable. I thank you most sincerely for the consideration which you have had for the delegates, and for myself in particular. Our people have been very appreciative of these marks of attention on your part. What I say on this head applies equally to Sir John Macdonald and those other Honorable Ministers, whose acquaintance we had the honor to make.

"You spoke to me about providing a supply of beef for the arrival of the troops. I stated to you that 'you will be able to find a certain quantity here on their arrival.

" You will find men here who will take contracts to furnish all the beef necessary for your troops ; but they must be notified a little in advance."

" I undertook to say a few words on this subject to His Lordship, who will be prepared to furnish you with all the necessary information in the premises."

" Without binding themselves absolutely, these contractors think that the price would be about 15 cents per pound."

" James McKay, whose name will be found on the list I left with you, is the best qualified man you can employ to negotiate with the Indians. You can speak about him to Bishop Taché."

" I have the honor to be, Sir,

" Your most obedient servant,

" (Signed,) N. J. RITCHOT, Ptre."

I read my letter 18th May, and the answer of Sir George Cartier, 23rd May, 1870, to the Council and Legislature, and they immediately took a copy. Later I explained myself in my parish, at a public meeting, the promises that had been made to me, saying that I had no doubt these promises would be immediately accomplished. I told them at these different meetings that the amnesty to be granted would include all acts accomplished up to the arrival of the Governor, and that I was authorised to tell them so by the Ministers of the Canadian Government. I also explained at length to Bishop Taché the promise that had been made to me on that subject, and whenever I had to speak on the subject I always spoke the same way up to the present moment.

(The despatch of Lord Lisgar, dated April 25th, 1872, was here read to the witness) which despatch is as follows :—

(63a.)

*Lord Lisgar to the Earl of Kimberley.*

" OTTAWA, April 25th, 1872.

" MY LORD,—I have the honor to forward herewith a Petition to Her Majesty the Queen, from the Rev. Abbé Ritchot and Mr. A. Scott.

" These gentlemen, with Judge Black, visited Ottawa in the spring of 1870, with the view of settling in an amicable manner the difficulties which had arisen in the North-West.

" The petition prays that Her Majesty will grant a general amnesty for all illegal acts which may have been committed by any parties concerned in those troubles."

" It is necessary that I should in my own defence remark upon the paragraphs which relate, on the part of the Rev. Abbé Ritchot and Mr. A. H. Scott, their impression of what passed at the interviews which they had with Sir Clinton Murdoch and myself."

" I cannot do otherwise than express my extreme surprise at the version which they think fit to give of what I said."

" I am clear that I never made any such promise of an amnesty as that which they allege."

" I had the benefit of more than one consultation with my responsible advisers in reference to this question of amnesty, and was quite on my guard in respect to it."

" In reply to the earnest and repeated instances of the delegates, I uniformly answered that the question of amnesty should be duly submitted for the consideration both of the Dominion Government and of Her Majesty's Ministers, and that I had no doubt it would receive from them that serious attention in all its bearings which it merited, but I guarded myself by adding that I was not in a position to make any promise or give any assurances whatever on the subject."

" Sir Clinton Murdoch will, I am persuaded, bear me out in stating that this was the line agreed upon, and the language used at the interviews."

" I have, &c.,

" (Signed,)

LISGAR."

His Excellency denies the promises of amnesty as we understood them, and I affirm positively, and as a proof I file a copy of my affidavit, sworn on the 19th November, 1873.

(Translation.)

(No. 64.)

" DOMINION OF CANADA, }  
 " Province of Quebec, }  
 " District of Montreal. }

" I, the undersigned, Noel Joseph Ritchot, priest, curé of the Parish of St. Norbert, in the County of Provencher, in the Province of Manitoba, being personally present in the City of Montreal, in the Province of Quebec, being duly sworn on the Holy Evangelists, do depose and say :

" That the President of the Provisional Government of Assiniboia, by an Order in Council bearing date the 22nd March, 1870, commissioned the Reverend N. J. Ritchot, John Black, Esquire, and Alfred Scott, Esquire, to bear to Ottawa the list of rights claimed by the people of Assiniboia, and there negotiate the conditions in accordance with which this same people consented to enter the Canadian Confederation ;

" That the said delegates, strengthened by this commission, proceeded to Ottawa, were received in their said quality of delegates by the Canadian Government, and negotiated with Sir John A. Macdonald and Sir George E. Cartier, the two Ministers authorized for that purpose by the Government ; that on the 26th April, 1870, the negotiations were begun by taking into consideration the list of rights brought by the delegates, and which has served as the basis for the Manitoba Act ; that besides the Manitoba Act, &c., agreeably to the nineteenth section of the list of rights, the delegates demanded, as a *sine qua non* of the arrangements, a general amnesty for all acts done or authorized by the Provisional Government ;

" That the Honorable Sir John A. Macdonald and Sir George E. Cartier, after stating that the amnesty did not rest with the Government of Ottawa, declared that they were in a position to assure us that it was the intention of Her Majesty to grant the amnesty, and that they would take upon themselves to proclaim it, that in fact it would be proclaimed, immediately after the passing of the Manitoba Act ;

" That on the 3rd May, 1870, before the closing of the negotiations, the Governor-General and Sir Clinton Murdoch assured the said delegates in the name of Her Majesty that the amnesty would be granted,—His Excellency quoted his proclamation of the preceding month of December, as proving the intentions of Her Majesty, and Sir Clinton Murdoch added among other things : that Her Majesty would willingly pass the sponge over the acts in question, in order to re-establish tranquillity in the country.

" On the delegates complaining that they had no written documents to show to the population of the Red River country, the said representatives of Her Majesty assured the delegates on several occasions that the question presented no difficulty, and that the amnesty would be certainly granted.

" The delegates accepted this promise on honor, and the Governor-General, Sir John Young, telegraphed to Lord Granville, ' Negotiations with the delegates closed satisfactorily.'

" That on the 19th May following, the Governor-General of Canada, at his own house, in presence of Sir George E. Cartier, followed to the delegates in person the assurance that the amnesty would certainly be granted ;—and furthermore, that it would reach Manitoba before the arrival of the Lieutenant-Governor of the Province, and that while waiting the proclamation, he (the Governor-General) would give orders that no person implicated in the troubles of 1869 and 1870, should be disturbed on account thereof,—And have signed after reading.

" (Signed,) N. J. RITCHOT, Ptre.

" Sworn before me, this nineteenth day of November, 1873, at Montreal.

" (Signed,) NAL. VALOIS, J.P."



And, moreover, to corroborate that, I file a copy of a Petition, signed by my co-delegate, Mr. Scott; His Grace Archbishop Taché was present when it was signed, and saw Scott sign it.

(No. 64a.)

"To Her Most Gracious Majesty the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, &c., &c., &c."

"May it please Your Majesty :

"The Petition of the Rev. Abbé Ritchot and Alfred Scott, Esquire, both of the Province of Manitoba, Dominion of Canada, most humbly representeth :—

"That Your Majesty's Petitioners, in conjunction with the Honorable Judge John Black, now in Scotland, were selected as delegates of the North-West; the subject of their mission being to lay before Your Majesty's Representative, the Right Honorable Sir John Young, Governor General of the Dominion of Canada, the wishes of the people of the Red River and of the North-West.

"That the said delegates received their official mission from the President of the Provisional Government of the North-West Territories, in a document signed by Thomas Bunn, the Secretary of the said Government, and dated March 22nd, 1870.

"That it was merely in conformity with that document that the delegates of the North-West presented themselves at Ottawa to negotiate with the Government of the Dominion.

"That the Cabinet of Ottawa, after having been informed of the arrival of the delegates and of the nature of their mission, notified to them by a letter of the Honorable Joseph Howe, Secretary of State for the Provinces, and dated 26th April, that the Honorable Sir John A. Macdonald and Sir G. E. Cartier had been appointed to settle with them to the satisfaction of the people of the Red River, the difficulties which had arisen in their midst.

"That on the day and at the hour appointed, the negotiations were opened, and that the delegates of the North-West declared to the Honorable Members of the Cabinet of Ottawa that in conformity with their instructions they could not come to any agreement unless a general amnesty should be granted for all the illegal acts which might have been committed by any of the parties concerned in the troubles that had occasioned the actual delegation.

"That the Honorable Sir John A. Macdonald and Sir G. E. Cartier declared to the delegates that they were in measure to assure them that such was the intention of Your Majesty, that they could consequently proceed with the negotiations, being satisfied that the Royal Prerogative of mercy would be exercised by the grant of a general amnesty.

"That before closing the negotiations, that is to say on the 3rd May, 1870, the delegates of the North-West were honored by an official invitation from Your Majesty's Representative Sir John Young, Governor General of Canada. That during that interview, His Excellency introduced the delegates to Sir Clinton Murdoch, stating to them that the honorable gentleman was a Commissioner sent by the Government of Your Majesty to assist in the settlement of the difficulties of the Red River people.

"That both the Governor General of Canada and Sir Clinton Murdoch enquired of the delegates of the North-West if they were satisfied with the arrangements of the Cabinet of Ottawa, and if not they were ready and authorized by the Government of Your Majesty to adopt such measures as would satisfy them.

"That in reply, the delegates stated that the question of the amnesty caused them a certain uneasiness, as they had no written document to lay before the people of Red River as a proof of the promise made to them on the same point.

"That the Representatives of Your Majesty repeatedly assured the delegates that

"there would be no difficulty on that point, and that the amnesty would surely be granted in order to do away with all the illegalities and irregularities of the late troubles."

"That the delegates, entirely confident in the assurances given, expressed their satisfaction in such a way as to enable Sir John Young to telegraph the same day to Lord Granville 'negotiations with the delegates closed satisfactorily.'

"That in a subsequent interview, on the 19th of May, the Governor General of Canada renewed to the delegates then present, the assurance that the amnesty would be granted, and moreover that it would reach Manitoba before the arrival there of the newly-appointed Lieutenant Governor."

"That on the 24th June, 1870, the Legislative Assembly, convoked to Fort Garry by the President of the Provisional Government, were informed by one of the delegates that the amnesty had been promised by Your Majesty's Representative."

"That this very promise and the entire confidence it inspired have largely contributed to avert new complications."

"That almost two years having elapsed without bringing a more explicit proof of Your Majesty's intention on this point an anxious and regrettable feeling exists throughout the Dominion. Some of those to whom the amnesty was promised, have been the object of personal revenge; one was killed; others obliged to flee to avoid the same fate, and all this from parties who call themselves loyal but refuse to believe in the promise made at Ottawa."

"That the Legislative Assembly of Manitoba, by a motion passed in the House on the 5th of the present month, is about to present a humble address to Your Majesty, praying 'that Your Majesty will be pleased to command that the same House will be made acquainted with the action already taken, or which it may be Your Majesty's Royal pleasure to take, relative to the political movements of 1869 and '70'."

"Wherefore Your Petitioners dare take the liberty to address their humble Petition to Your Majesty, convinced that the interest Your Majesty bears even to the least of Her subjects, will determine Her Royal goodwill to take into Her favorable consideration their earnest prayer, that in order to secure peace and tranquillity it will be Your Majesty's Royal pleasure to proclaim the amnesty which was promised us when negotiating at Ottawa."

"And your Petitioners will, as in duty bound, ever pray and be grateful."

(Signed), "N. J. RITCHOT,  
"Delegate of the North-West."

(Signed), "ALFRED A. SCOTT,  
"Delegate of the North-West."

"Fort Garry, Manitoba,  
"8th February, 1872."

That is my first answer. His Excellency says in his letter that he was guarded. I say I was not guarded, but went freely, frankly, and as I felt. I took the words used as they were said, and in the sense generally given to them, as I understood them and affirm to-day.

In all the interviews I had with him he always said the same thing, and it was never denied. I had no further correspondence with the Minister nor had I any communication with any of the representatives of the Government in the territory before my return to Canada. I then returned to Canada, and arrived on March 5th, 1873. I saw Mr. Langevin and Sir John A. Macdonald together and separately. Before seeing any of the Ministers, I thought proper to address myself directly to His Excellency the Governor General. I do not remember exactly the day I saw His Excellency; I believe it was the 28th June. Mr. Langevin was present. I complained to His Excellency that the promise made in 1870 had not been carried out, I will produce the résumé of what I said to His Excellency. I have given that résumé to him in writing.

(No. 65.)

(Translation.)

"To His Excellency the Right Honorable Sir Frederick Temple, Earl of Dufferin, Viscount and Baron Clandeboyne of Clandeboyne, in the County of Down, in the Peerage of the United Kingdom, Baron Dufferin, and Clandeboyne of Ballyleidy and Killeleagh, in the County of Down, in the Peerage of Ireland, and a Baronet, Knight of the Most Illustrious Order of Saint Patrick, and Knight Commander of the Most Honorable Order of the Bath, Governor General of Canada, &c., &c., &c.

"MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY,—Several of the questions which Your Excellency was pleased to put to me during the audiences which I had the honor to have granted me through the intervention of the Honorable Sir John A. Macdonald and the Honorable H. L. Langevin, sanction my placing before you a condensed statement of the principal events which have required my presence in Ottawa this year.

"Without further prologue, I respectfully submit the following statement to the consideration of Your Excellency.

"In the years 1869 and 1870 troubles arose in the North-West Territories, not at that time part of the Dominion of Canada. These troubles were solely caused by the proceedings on the part of the Dominion of Canada, taken to cause these territories to enter the Confederation. Soon the little colony of Red River, so peaceable up to that time, fell into a state of anarchy, and was exposed to all the horrors consequent on such a condition of affairs.

"The people alarmed, believed they could best provide for their own safety, and the preservation of life and property, by establishing a provisional power, which would shield them from the dangers of their situation. The people consequently created a Provisional Government, and selected a President for its head. The Imperial Government, pained by these troubles, instructed His Excellency the Right Honorable Sir John Young, Baronet, &c., &c., then Governor General of Canada, to receive and take into consideration the complaints of those who were dissatisfied, and to re-establish order in these territories. At the invitation of the Government and His Excellency the Governor General of Canada, the President of the Provisional Government of Assiniboia sent a delegation to Ottawa to negotiate concerning the entry of this portion of the British possessions into the Canadian Confederation. By a document, bearing date the 22nd March, 1870, John Black, Esquire, Alfred Scott, Esquire, and the Reverend N. J. Ritchot were appointed delegates to Ottawa by the President of the Provisional Government for the purpose aforesaid.

"On the 22nd and 23rd April, 1870, the delegates asked of the Dominion Government to be heard, and on the 26th were informed by the Secretary of State for the Provinces that the Honorable Sir John A. Macdonald and the Honorable Sir George E. Cartier were authorized for this purpose to treat with them on the subject of their mission. At eleven o'clock in the forenoon of the same day the delegates laid before the Honorable Ministers the list of conditions placed in their hands by the President of the Provisional Government, and opened the negotiation of which the result was the Manitoba Act.

"In addition, besides the Manitoba Act, &c., in accordance with the 18th section of the list of conditions, the delegates required as a condition *sine qua non* of the agreement, a general amnesty. As I have already had the honor of stating to Your Excellency, that amnesty was promised, as it could not fail to be, for even in the case of its being maintained those whom we represented were nothing but rebels; the ordinary practice is not to invite rebels to treat, and negotiations are not entered into with their delegates, if it is not proposed in case arrangements are effected, to pass the sponge over the past and proclaim a general amnesty for all acts anterior to the arrangements, and which were not perfectly known. Our Petition, addressed to Her Most Gracious Majesty, dated the 8th February, 1872, and a copy of which is hereto annexed, gives some details on this head.

"His Grace, Monseigneur Taché Archbishop of St. Boniface, was summoned from Rome by the Dominion Government, and commissioned to go and work in securing the pacification of the country. His arrival in March, 1870, in fact, contributed in an extraordinary degree to the maintenance of peace and order in those regions. His Grace had received from the Canadian authorities explicit promises. Strengthened by these promises, proceeding from statesmen whose word of honor should be a sufficient guarantee, Monseigneur Taché himself guaranteed the carrying out of these promises.

"Three years have passed, since the date in question, and the promises made in regard to the amnesty have not been fulfilled, and other promises and other conditions remain likewise as yet unfulfilled.

"So far from this being the case, men sent by the Dominion Government have engaged in committing actions the most alarming, as well as most unjust and atrocious, with respect to the inhabitants of the little Province of Manitoba. During these three years, on more than one occasion would the Province have become the theatre of scenes of horror which cause a shudder to think of, if the native population had engaged in reprisals.

"Worn out by the present state of affairs, the people of Manitoba complain of having been deceived, and ask for justice. We doubt not but that the Dominion Government is endeavoring to restore order, and to do justice; the Local Government of Manitoba, for its part, is doing the same. But this will not justify in the minds of the public either the Dominion Government, His Grace Monseigneur the Archbishop, or the delegates, so long as the guaranteed promises shall remain unfulfilled. In this latter event, nothing remains to His Grace and to the delegates, but to prove that they have deceived no one, but have been themselves deceived.

"Of the three delegates from Manitoba in 1870, the undersigned is the only one who resides now in Manitoba, and to whom the people apply in requiring the carrying out of the promises which have been made to them. It is because so urged by the necessity of satisfying an honest and confiding population who ask for what they have a right to—it is also because compelled by the necessity of either obtaining what has been promised us, or of justifying ourselves by establishing that we may have been deceived, but that we have deceived no one, that we are this day in Ottawa. And it is under these circumstances that I believed I ought to address myself directly to Your Excellency, trusting that you will willingly hear me, and employ all the means in your power to cause justice to be done to the inhabitants of Manitoba.

"Stimulated by these same circumstances I take the liberty of most respectfully praying Your Excellency to use your influence to the end that the promises which were made to us in 1870, especially those referring to a general amnesty, acknowledged by all to be necessary to the peace and happiness of the country, may be at once carried out.

"In begging this favor at the hands of Your Excellency, I believe that I am laboring in the public interests of the Province of Manitoba, as well as in that of the Dominion of Canada, and I believe that I express the feelings of all men of probity who desire the advancement and progress of the Canadian Confederation. This course would moreover be a justification of the confidence we reposed in promises made and guaranteed to us by honorable men, with whom, as delegates, we were in treaty in 1870, as the contrary one would place us under the necessity of justifying ourselves otherwise, by proving that in honor we had a right to act as we have done, that is what we can easily do, and what we cannot excuse ourselves from doing."

"We are this day compelled to break the silence which for three years we have kept on the subject of the arrangements of 1870; and upon more than one point we should be forced to reveal what, it would be wise policy, we believe, to leave buried in silence.

"Permit me to remark to Your Excellency that I am not ignorant that the members of the Government of Manitoba are here specially charged with the interests of that Province; their Honorable Ministers enjoy the esteem and confidence of the population

"they represent, I have no doubt, as they have my full confidence and sympathy. But this fact does not absolve me from discharging a duty which lies specially on my own shoulders as a delegate of 1870, to whom the promises were given.

"Permit me to hope that the steps I have taken this day will be approved of by Your Excellency, and that you will lead to a favorable issue the last efforts we make towards the perfect accomplishment of the work of pacification, with the charge of which we were specially entrusted in 1870.

"I have the honor to be,

"Your Excellency's

"Most humble servant,

"Ottawa, 1st April, 1873."

"(Signed),

N. J. RITCHIE, Ptre.

He only said he would take it into consideration before his Council, and he acknowledged the receipt of it; he moreover told me that later. It was evident that Lord Lisgar did not intend to deceive me, but it is probable that there had been some misunderstanding. I saw Mr. Langevin first after this interview with His Excellency. In this interview I complained to Mr. Langevin that the amnesty had not been granted, and that the Government should have kept us in such a painful position. Mr. Langevin said it was impossible for the Government to have acted otherwise. No Government, he said, could stand five minutes if it took up that question, and they were not bound to commit suicide. On the other hand I said that we neither were obliged to commit suicide, and that we had trusted the promise which had been made would have been kept. I also said that to-day we were compromised and crushed, and that if they had no means of attaining the end we were entitled to, we would do all in our power to attain it. Mr. Langevin observed that we would not then be any better off, and perhaps worse off. I answered, "We could not be worse off; we have nothing to lose." Mr. Langevin then attempted to prove that we had not been ill-treated by the Government. He gave me, as an example of this, the appointment of Mr. Archibald, who was a well-disposed man. I took the liberty of telling him that it was true he appeared well disposed, but his action had been quite paralysed. I said further, if he had been left quite free he would have established peace immediately, and that the native population on both sides were well disposed towards him. That was about what I told him. I had a later interview with Sir John, but it was of little importance. I had some meetings with other Ministers, not very important meetings, but at which the amnesty was spoken of. I had an interview on the 29th April, 1873, with Sir John, at which were present Mr. Langevin and Mr. Masson, a member of this Committee. I exposed to him the subject of our complaint, particularly that the amnesty had not been granted. Sir John said the Government found itself under very embarrassing circumstances; then he read to me two or three letters of Sir Clinton Murdoch's, in one of which he said, as far as I can remember, that he had never met the Ministers at the same time as the delegates. He also said that during the interview of the 3rd May the question of the amnesty was not raised. I cannot remember the exact words, but this is, as far as I can recollect, the substance of them. In another letter he said, "The Ministers have refused to accept the 19th clause of the arrangements." I then remarked to Sir John that I could not understand how Sir Clinton Murdoch could state himself that the Ministers had refused to accept the 19th clause, when he had said that he never met us with the Ministers. Sir John A. Macdonald, moreover, stated:—"I said that if the delegates had been sent by the Provisional Government, I would not treat with them." That having been said in English, I asked for its translation in French, which being done, I said, "You did tell me that." "No," he replied, "I did not, but I have told it to my friends." I said, "I do not know what you have said to your friends, but you have treated with us in our capacity of delegates of the Provisional Government." Sir John then said he would do all he could to establish peace, and that he would like to see me later, when he would give me something which would satisfy me. It is on account of that that I wrote him a letter dated 16th May, 1873, of which I produce a copy.

(No. 66.)

(Translation.)

"BISHOP'S PALACE,

OTTAWA, 16th May, 1873.

"To the Honorable

"Sir J. A. Macdonald, K.C.B.,

"Minister of Justice, &amp;c., &amp;c., Ottawa.

"SIR,—At the last interview which I had the honor of having with the Honorable Mr. H. Langevin and yourself, I spoke at length on the subject of the amnesty. You requested me to wait a week, and that you would then give me a satisfactory answer. I have waited for more than a week, and I should like to have that answer before my departure. This is the reason why I take the liberty of begging you to inform me whether the Government will take up or not the important subject of the *Amnesty*.

"Permit me further to remark to you, that I believe I should betray the cause entrusted to me in 1870, and expose our Province of Manitoba to great disturbances, were I not to employ all possible and just means to obtain a settlement of this important subject.

"I have the honor to be, sir,

"Your most obedient servant,

"(Signed,) N. J. RITCHOT."

"Having received no answer, I wrote again on the 23rd of the same month, a letter of which I produce also a copy.

(No. 67.)

(Translation.)

"BISHOP'S PALACE,

"OTTAWA, 23rd May, 1873.

"To the Honorable

"Sir John Macdonald, K.C.B.

"Minister of Justice &amp;c., &amp;c., Ottawa.

"SIR,—As I have received no answer to the letter which I had the honor of addressing you on the 16th inst., I respectfully take the liberty of mentioning this to you, and again requesting an answer.

"I have the honor to be, sir,

"Your most humble and devoted servant,

"(Signed,) N. J. RITCHOT, Ptre."

He did not at that interview deny that an amnesty had been promised, though I told him at that interview that it had been well and truly promised. At that interview he neither denied nor acknowledged that an amnesty had been promised. I merely went to claim that which he had promised. There were other interviews with Sir John about the 8th or 10th of June. I saw Sir John at his office. I was alone. I again asked him to proclaim the amnesty, and he said he would do everything in his power to satisfy me. There were no other interviews with members of the Government last spring, nor with the Governor General. I wrote a letter to the Lieut.-Governor upon the occasion of the O'Donohue Fenian Raid. I have a copy of the letter which I can produce. The Lieut.-Governor then wrote me a note stating that he desired to see me. I have not the letter of Mr. Archibald in which he asks to see me. I went to see him. This was on 4th October, 1871. His Excellency said he wanted to know what attitude the French population would take on the occasion of the Fenian invasion. His Excellency stated that he was quite persuaded from what he had seen that the French population was loyal, but that under the circumstances such as those which presented themselves, it was his duty to have exact information of what was going on in the Province. He said if the population showed itself loyal, there would be nothing to fear from the Fenians,

whatever might be their numbers; but if, on the contrary, part of the population was hostile to the authorities, the country would be lost; because when divisions took place in a camp nothing could be done. He said if they could trust to that part of the Metis or half-breeds near the frontier, they had nothing to fear; consequently, he wanted to know from me if I was in a position, living amongst the French half-breeds as I did, to tell him positively if he could count on them; and that I answered him that it was quite certain that he could count on them, and that I had seen the leaders of them, amongst whom was Riel, and that they themselves were only anxious to know what attitude the authorities would take on the occasion of the invasion by the Fenians. I also said that they only waited for word to go to the front if required, and to place themselves in a position to meet that invasion whatever it might be. I stated that in Riel's opinion it was a measure of precaution which should be taken immediately. His Excellency commissioned me to tell the French Canadian half-breeds, and especially Riel, that he would be very happy to see them giving their help to the authorities. I then observed to His Excellency that he (Riel) was very perplexed because his friends told him that if he went forward and showed himself he would expose himself to be killed, that any action he would take would be badly interpreted, and that there were warrants out against him, and that he could be arrested the very moment he was in arms or elsewhere, if he appeared in a public assembly. His Excellency said there was no danger at all, and that any steps in that direction would be well considered, and that it was a good time for Riel to prove his loyalty. His Excellency also said that it would be a further occasion for the hastening of the granting of an amnesty, and that it was the time to prove that what had been said against him was false. I promised to communicate what he had said to Riel, and that on the very next day he would have news of my mission. Then after that I met friends, who observed to me that Riel's friends would not allow him to go forward unless there would be something in writing, saying that Riel would not be ill-treated. Upon this I took the liberty of writing the following letter to Mr. Archibald.

(No. 68.)

(Translation.)

" ST. BONIFACE, 4th October, 1871.

" To His Excellency the Lieutenant Governor.

" May it please Your Excellency:

" In the conversation which I had the honor to hold with you yesterday, we were both agreed that it was proper to secure the influence of Mr. Riel to direct his compatriots in the present state of affairs, and prevent them taking a false course.

" Upon deep reflection, I take the liberty of remarking to Your Excellency, that inasmuch as Mr. Riel is in such a position that he cannot act openly as a citizen, I do not believe that he should place himself at their head unless he had some guarantee that his proceeding would be looked upon with favor by Your Excellency.

" Consequently, I beg leave to ask of you some assurance which will shelter him from any legal proceeding at least for the present.

" (Signed,) N. J. RITCHOT.

" P.S.—Being about to leave immediately for my parish, I beg to request Your Excellency will kindly give an answer to the bearer, who will at once bring it to me.

" (Signed,) N. J. R.

The paragraph which begins "En conséquence," and ending "au moins pour la circonstance actuelle" was added at the suggestion of a friend, who thought that without that addition His Excellency would think that I was desirous of embarrassing him, since I had not told him that I would write him before seeing Riel. I received the following morning a reply, of which I produce a copy:—

(No. 69.)

" GOVERNMENT HOUSE,

" October 5th, 1871.

" REVEREND SIR,—Your note has just reached me. You speak of the difficulties which might impede any action of Mr. Riel in coming forward to use his influence with his fellow citizens, to rally to the support of the Crown, in the present emergency.

" Should Mr. Riel come forward as suggested, he need be under no apprehension that his liberty shall be interfered with in any way : to use your own language, ' pour la circonstance actuelle.'

" It is hardly necessary for me to add that the co-operation of the French half-breeds and their leaders in the support of the Crown, under present circumstances, will be very welcome and cannot be looked upon otherwise than as entitling them to most favourable consideration.

" Let me add that, in giving you this assurance with promptitude, I feel myself entitled to be met in the same spirit.

" The sooner the French half-breeds assume the attitude in question, the more graceful will be their action and the more favorable their influence.

" I have the honor to be,

" Reverend Sir;

" Yours truly,

" (Signed.)

A. G. ARCHIBALD,

" Lieutenant-Governor.

" Revd. Père Ritchot,

" St. Norbert."

On the 5th I saw Mr. Riel, who was very glad to see that the Governor had confidence in him and in the population. He said he would get all the men available at the time ; and two days afterwards he went to the Fort with a number of men, a great number of whom were armed and mounted. His Excellency accepted that offer, and charged one of their number to form an expedition after their own fashion, and go over the Province to see if there was really a gathering of Fenians as was reported to be in the direction of the mountain of Pembina and the mountain La Tortue. That expedition started immediately. I know that at that time Mr. Riel wrote to His Excellency ; I cannot say if the communication was signed by other persons. I produce a letter ; I do not know that it is an answer to that one ; it is from Mr. Archibald to Riel, Lepine, and Parenteau. This letter was signed by Mr. Buchanan, the Governor's Private Secretary. I produce a copy of that letter.

(No. 70.)

" GOVERNMENT HOUSE,

" FORT GARRY, Oct. 8th, 1871.

" GENTLEMEN,—I have it in command from His Excellency the Lieutenant-Governor to acknowledge receipt of your note of this morning assuring His Excellency of the hearty response of the Metis to the appeal made to them in His Excellency's Proclamation.

" You may say to the people, on whose behalf you write, that His Excellency is much gratified to receive the assurance which he anticipated in his communication with the Revd. Père Ritchot, and which your letter conveys, and that he will take the earliest opportunity to transmit to His Excellency the Governor-General this evidence of the loyalty and good faith of the Metis of Manitoba.

" His Excellency will be pleased to be furnished, as soon as possible, with a nomina



"list of the persons in each parish, who desire to enroll for active service in the present emergency.

"His Excellency will rely upon their readiness to come forward the moment they receive notice.

"I have the honor to be,

"Gentlemen,

"Your obedient servant,

"(Signed,)

W. F. BUCHANAN,

"Acting Private Secretary."

"To M. M. L. Riel,

"A. D. Lepine,

"Pierre Parenteau."

A few days afterwards Mr. Riel came to my place and gave me that letter. I told him that I would take care of it, and neither of them have spoken about it since. I have not a copy of the letter written by Riel; I do not know of any extraordinary meeting at which the half-breeds offered their services. They were speaking about Fenians privately. I do not know of any meeting of the people at which there was a discussion as to their joining the Fenians, and in which one, Mr. Delorme, suggested that they had better not join the Fenians, but go with the Government. I was in a position to know what was passing. It was upon receiving the letter of the 4th October already mentioned, requesting an interview with me, that I went to see the Lieut.-Governor. It was on Sunday that Riel came forward; on the 5th the half-breeds began to go about and catch their horses, which were on the prairie. The Fenians were certainly not in the territory before the 5th. I had no previous knowledge, whatever, of their intended attack. It was rumoured that fifteen or eighteen hundred Fenians, with eight hundred guns, were on the frontier; the Lieut.-Governor told me he had reliable information to that effect. I saw nothing of them. The French half-breeds never had any sympathy with the Fenians, and I have no knowledge of any of them having communicated with the Fenians; but some were accused of having done so. There was one man, named Delorme, who was accused of having seen and spoken with O'Donohue. It was not Pierre Delorme. There are several Delormes in the country. It was rumoured that a man named John Bruce had also seen O'Donohue, and communicated with him. I myself saw John Bruce at that time; when I put the question to him, and he entered upon a long argument to prove that he had met O'Donohue by accident; and he entered upon that argument because he had been accused by his compatriots with having communicated with O'Donohue. It was made a matter of reproach against Bruce by the French half-breeds.

N. J. RITCHOT.

COMMITTEE ROOM,

April 22nd, 1874.

The examination of the Revd. N.-J. Ritchot continued:—

Nothing very particular took place between me and Mr. Langevin. I had the honor of seeing Sir John Macdonald, Mr. Robitaille and others, but nothing passed which was material to this question of the amnesty. I told them that I wanted to treat of the question of amnesty with them. This was after the late Government had been replaced by the new Government. I saw two of the new Ministers, Mr. Dorion and Mr. Letellier, a few days after the new Ministry was formed. I spoke to them about the question of amnesty. They said they would do all in their power to settle that question. Nothing particular transpired on the subject. I only stated that I trusted in them to settle that question. I remember having spoken particularly of Mr. Riel and Mr. Lepine, who was then in gaol. They said they would do all in their power to settle the question.

N. J. RITCHOT.

COMMITTEE ROOM,  
29th April, 1874.

Donald A. Smith, M.P. (Selkirk), deposed as follows:—

I understood from different members of the Government, that the amnesty was delayed in consequence of the continuance of the insurrection, that is the amnesty mentioned in the proclamation of 6th December, 1869. I received a copy of the telegram of 25th November, 1869, from Earl Granville to Sir John Young, and also the proclamation (both at Ottawa). Copies of the proclamation were taken into the territory by Father Thibault and Colonel DeSalaberry. I endeavored to have them at the mass meeting to read to the people, but could not read them then. I understood that the proclamations were in the possession of the Provisional Government, who refused to give them up.

I know of no actual promise of an amnesty having been made. Archbishop Taché, however, assured me over and over again, that such a promise had been made to him. I know that the Archbishop made the same statement to many other persons at various times, and continued to make it consistently. Colonel Wolseley said, on his arrival, that he had nothing to do with the Civil Government, and insisted that I should act as Civil Government. I have heard members of the Government at Ottawa frequently speak of an amnesty, but I was never given to understand that any amnesty would be given although it was said that it was most desirable that these things should be settled, and that there should be an amnesty. I heard these statements frequently in conversation, both from Sir George Cartier and Sir John A. Macdonald; in fact they were always made a subject of conversation whenever I was in Ottawa.

I said it was most unjust that this state of things should continue. They agreed with this view, but never said that they would obtain an amnesty. In a conversation with Sir John A. Macdonald, about 23rd October, I submitted this to him. I told him that Archbishop Taché had informed me that an amnesty had been promised. He said no such promise had been given, and that he had letters from Lord Lisgar or Sir Clinton Murdoch denying any promise on their part. He said, however, that when he was in England he would see about it. On the ensuing 6th February, 1872, I was informed by a messenger from Governor Archibald, in the first instance, and afterwards by note, to call on him at his house on urgent business. I went, and found him and Archbishop Taché together. Governor Archibald informed me that he had asked me to come up on a most important matter: that there was danger of a rising of the French Metis. There had been a meeting, and they had resolved to arm, and I believe they were then armed. That the country was in a most dangerous condition. That he and the Archbishop had been talking over the matter, and that they had decided at the desire and with the consent of the Dominion Government to get some of the leading parties out of the way, and that information had reached Fort Garry that there had been a reward offered by the Ontario Government, and they said they had no money in the treasury of Manitoba, and I was asked if I could and would advance £600 sterling, it being distinctly understood that it would be made good by the Dominion Government. I had nothing to do with Riel, Lepine, or any other of the parties. The money was to be paid by me to Archbishop Taché, Lieutenant-Governor Archibald saying that he would take upon himself the responsibility that the Dominion Government would pay it. I signed an order that the money should be paid to him, and I directed it to be charged to the Canadian Government. This was in the first week in February. The names of Riel and Lepine were, I think, mentioned, and that the money was to be given to them to go out of the country. I cannot remember whether anything was said about subsisting their families. It was also mentioned that \$1,000, I think, were also available; I think it was mentioned that they were to remain away, or promise to remain away, for a year, but that they should not, under any circumstances, return until after the elections were over; but the elections were not given as a reason for their departure, but the desire certainly was, that they should not return until after the elections. I was leaving for Ottawa a few days afterwards, and Lieutenant-Governor Archibald requested me to inform the Dominion Government of the advance. On my arrival I spoke of it to Hon. Mr. Langevin and Sir

George E. Cartier. The latter appeared to understand it perfectly. I also mentioned it to Sir John A. Macdonald. Both of them assured me that it would be repaid to me. Sir John also appeared to understand it, and spoke of a sum already having been given to Archbishop Taché. The money was not then repaid. I saw them frequently about it and another matter. This other matter was £500, to be given by me to the loyal French half-breeds, whose assistance had been absolutely necessary in my position as Canadian Commissioner in 1869 and 1870. Some of those half-breeds had been imprisoned for the assistance they had given me, by Riel and his confederates. This sum was the least that could be given, and was repeatedly promised. It was on these occasions that the £600 were spoken of. In the autumn I saw Governor Archibald, who had come to Ottawa, and he told me that it had been arranged by the Government that either the £600 or £500 should be paid. This was in the end of October or beginning of November, 1872. I saw Sir John about it, and he said it would not be convenient to have it paid until after the Session of Parliament. All the discussions were in the same sense; such discussions and assurances were repeated also in the spring session of Parliament in 1873.

In October, 1873, at the same conversation I have already referred to about the amnesty, this claim of £500 was brought up again, and I think Sir John then referred himself to the £600. He said "You will be up here next week, and we shall have it settled." I was up then again. I did not see Sir John at his office, but I saw his secretary, who spoke about that money. He said "It is about that, I suppose, you wish to see him." I said it is of no consequence now. On the 4th November I was at Sir John's office, but did not see him. In the evening I saw Sir John A. Macdonald in a committee room in the House. He said that "The matter should have been arranged long ago, but it will be arranged now, if you will just merely, as a matter of course, write me a note now, stating (in order that we may have something to show) that it was paid to Archbishop Taché, at the instance of Governor Archibald, and you shall receive a cheque or rather the money, to-morrow morning." I immediately wrote and posted the note required, mentioning the amount, with interest, at 7 per cent., from February, 1872. The note was in the terms Sir John had told me. I had not asked for the money in this conversation. This was the last conversation I had with Sir John about it in which he referred to giving this money. The payment of the money was spoken of by Dr. Tupper the next morning, and he said it would be repaid. And in conversation with Mr. Pope the same evening, he said that Sir John had said, in the previous week, that the money must be paid. The money has never been paid. I have had no conversation since with any member of the late Government about it. I have stated to members of the present Government that the money should be paid, but I have made no claim for it, but I consider that Sir John should see it paid. The Dominion Government had an account with the Hudson's Bay Company, which acted as the Government bankers in the territory. The money was not a transaction of my own, it was only in acting as the banker of the Government that the money was advanced, although if not paid by the Government, I might consider I should make it good to the Company. I say this because I have not any written order or authority from Mr. Archibald for this payment. I did not consider that I was asked to advise upon the policy of these parties leaving the country, but simply to supply the necessary funds. I may mention here, that both Governor Archibald and Sir John expressed themselves strongly that faith had not been kept by Riel and Lepine in remaining away as they had promised.

I received a letter from Governor Archibald, dated 20th December, 1873, extracts of which I produce for the Committee.

(No. 86.)

*Extract of a letter from the Honourable A. G. Archibald to Donald A. Smith, dated 20th December, 1873.*

"If only the unfortunate cause of all these troubles had had the sense to see as others saw for him, that the true solution of the question both in his own interest, in the interest of his half-breed friends, and of the Dominion, was to keep himself in the back

"ground till the storm had blown over, all these difficulties would have vanished. Public attention would have been averted from him, and in the course of a few years the people would begin to think that if there had been an insurrection and a great crime, that it was a happy feature of a rebellion against English authority that it held its own for ten months, and had but *one* crime to charge itself with; that is admitting that stealing a lot of your H. B. goods, and appropriating so much of other people's property as they found convenient, were not to be ranked under this category. There is no doubt that a very short time would have been needed, to bring about a better state of feeling, and then he and his friends could have claimed an amnesty which, whether it was promised or not, was implied in the treaty, but which, whether promised or not, no Government could venture to give till the passions of the moment had cleared away a little and left them free to act in the true interest of the people of the Dominion.

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The following documents, numbered respectively 83, 84 and 85, were laid before the Committee by D. A. Smith, Esq., M. P.

(No. 83.)

*Letter from Lieut.-Governor Morris to D. A. Smith M. P.*

"GOVERNMENT HOUSE,

"FORT GARRY, April 6th, 1874.

"SIR,—In accordance with your request communicated to me by telegram. I have the honor to enclose to you certified extracts of those portions of the record of a meeting of the Council of Assiniboia, held in October, 1869, which relates to the subject of enquiry with which the Committee of the House of Commons, of which you are I believe the chairman, are charged.

"There are no other entries in the minutes relating to the subject, and in fact there are no minutes that I am aware of, of any proceedings of Council, if any were had, subsequent to that date.

"For obvious reasons I do not feel justified in transmitting the minute book itself, as you requested, as it is a public record affecting various interests in this Province, and containing many regulations of the Council of Assiniboia, which are yet in force here.

"I have the honor to be, Sir,

"Your obedient servant,

"ALEX. MORRIS,

"Lieutenant Governor.

"Honorable

"Donald A. Smith, M.P.,

"Chairman of Committee of the House of Commons,

"Ottawa."

(No. 84.)

*Minutes of a meeting of the Governor and Council of Assiniboia, held 19th October, 1869.*  
*Inter Alia.*

"ADDRESS TO GOVERNOR McDougall."

The President then submitted to the Council a communication which had been addressed to Governor McTavish by members of the Council of Assiniboia, requesting him to call a meeting of the Council "For the purpose of drawing up a proper Address of welcome to the Honorable Wm. McDougall, the newly appointed Governor of the North-West Territory, and of taking the necessary steps for presenting it to him on his arrival here." In the propriety and desirableness of the object of the petition, the Council expressed their hearty concurrence, and with the view of giving expression to

their feelings of loyalty on the occasion; His Lordship the Bishop of Rupert's Land submitted the draft of an Address which he had prepared.

The Council carefully considered the draft in detail, and being of opinion that the document, as it stood, conveyed a just and appropriate expression of their sentiments, adopted it *in toto* as the form of an Address to be presented to Governor McDougall; the following being a copy of the draft to which the Council so agreed.

"To —

"*May it please Your Excellency.*—We the members of the Council of Assiniboia, nominated by the Governor and Committee of the Honorable Hudson's Bay Company, desire to welcome Your Excellency on your arrival in this country to assume the office of Governor under the new arrangements to which Her most Gracious Majesty has given Her consent. We would express the hope that you may personally enjoy your residence amongst us, and our conviction that your experience as a statesman will be of great service to this country at the present juncture.

"Your Excellency may rely on receiving from us individually, as private citizens, our best assistance in your administration of the affairs of the country; and as those who were formerly accountable under the Governor appointed by the Honorable Company for the direction of affairs, we venture to assure Your Excellency that you will find the old settlers of this country loyal subjects of Her Majesty, obedient to the laws, and ready to support Your Excellency in the just administration of them.

"We quite feel that from the altered circumstances of this country, which has been rapidly changing within the last few years, it is well that its Government has been transferred from the great commercial body on which it hitherto devolved; but the administration of the Honorable Company was we believe, on the whole well suited to the past state of things, and we are not unmindful of many acts of kindness shewn by it from time to time to the settlement, as for example, in the past year, when in addition to a generous vote of money, a large amount of grain was contributed to meet the necessities arising from the great calamity of 1868.

"Your Excellency can then well understand that there are mingled feelings in our community with respect to the great change that has taken place, and even misgivings as regards the future in the minds of some; but as we gladly see in the appointment of Your Excellency a proof of the interest that the Government of the Dominion takes in this land, so we have the fullest confidence, not only that all just rights of the old settlers will be respected, but that the transition will be made as easy for them as possible.

"Hitherto we have been so far removed from any settled community, that the outlay that would have been necessary to open up the country rendered the attempt impracticable. Indeed we believe that in the future there will not only be no surprise that nothing of the kind was attempted, but that it will be recognized as most creditable to the wisdom, discretion and honorable conduct of those who administered the affairs of this country; that a small defenceless settlement even existed for many years among wild tribes of Indians, without annoyance or trouble from them, and that a profitable trade was carried on without difficulty through the length and breadth of the land.

"But as our isolation is passing away, it will soon be practicable enough to open up the country to emigrants and to develop its resources, and we feel sure that its union with the Dominion of Canada will greatly promote this result.

"What the resources of this country are it is difficult to say, as they have yet to be accurately examined and reported upon, but we do not doubt that they are great and sufficient to maintain a considerable population.

"We would then express the hope that Your Excellency may see a large development of the resources of the country, while it is under your charge, and we pray that by the guidance and blessing of God, wise measures may be adopted, and peace, plenty and prosperity be the result.

"Signed in the name of the Council of Assiniboia.

"JOHN BLACK."

At the same time, however, in the prospect of the great political change which they believed was at hand, and which would necessarily dissolve the connection between them and Governor McTavish, the Council deemed the present a fitting occasion for placing on record some manifestation of their feelings towards one who had so long and so acceptably presided over their body; and the Bishop of Rupert's Land having presented the draft of a letter to Governor McTavish, of which the following is a copy, the Council adopted the draft, and directed that a letter in these terms be addressed to Governor McTavish by the President in the name of the Council, and be delivered to him along with the address to Governor McDougall.

*Letter to Governor McTavish.*

" DEAR GOVERNOR MCTAVISH,

" The Council have learned with very deep regret that you are in such a delicate state of health.

" They venture to express the hope that you will not refuse to yourself such relaxation as may give you the prospect of early recovery.

" At the meeting to-day the enclosed address to the Governor, who is shortly expected in the settlement, was agreed to, and the Council place it in your hands, with the request that you will kindly inform His Excellency of its contents and learn from him when and how its presentation may be acceptable.

" The Council cannot communicate this address without again expressing their sense of the many acts of kindness which the country has received from the Honorable Company, and they would be glad if you would convey this expression of their feelings to the Governor and Committee.

" To yourself personally they would wish to convey their most affectionate regards. Whilst you were looked to by every member of the Council as the most fitted to guide their deliberations, there was no one who less pressed his opinions, or listened more courteously to any suggestion that was made.

" The Council know well how inestimable your services are to the Honorable Company, and how devotedly you have given yourself to their business; yet your ear has ever been open and your advice ready for the poorest settler who was in any difficulty.

" The Council, therefore, while thanking you for all your invariable courtesy when at the head of their Board, would express the hope that you may be soon restored to health, and that your valuable life may be long spared.

" Signed in the name of the Council:

" JOHN BLACK."

" I certify that the foregoing are true extracts from the original minutes of the Council of Assiniboia, which said minutes are now in my custody.

" (Signed,)

SADLEY BLANCHARD,

" Clerk of the Executive Council,

" Province of Manitoba."

*Minutes of a Meeting of the Governor and Council of Assiniboia, held October 25th, 1869.*

" Present:—John Black, Esq., President; The Right Revd. The Lord Bishop of Rupert's Land; Dr. Cowan, Dr. Bird, Messrs. Dease, Sutherland, McBeath, Fraser and Bannatyne, Esquires.

" Mr. Black stated that in consequence, as he very much regretted to say, of Governor McTavish's continued illness, he was again called upon to preside at the present meeting of the Council.

" The minutes of the last meeting having been read and approved, Mr. Black proceeded to say that at their last meeting, as the Council was aware, an address had been prepared for the purpose of being presented to the Honorable William McDougall on

" his arrival in the settlement, an event which was expected to take place at some very early date; that the Council while preparing that address, were impressed with the conviction that the feelings of welcome and loyalty therein expressed were concurred in by the settlement generally, or at least were so far shared by the great majority of people, as to preclude all idea of open demonstrations of dissent; but he was very much concerned now to say that unhappily such was not the case, and that a large party among the French population appeared to be animated by a very different spirit. It had become too evident, that among them sentiments of a directly opposite nature prevailed with regard to the impending change in the Government of the country, and prevailed so strongly, that according to information lately received, and of the correctness of which there could be no doubt, they had organized themselves into armed bodies for the purpose of intercepting Governor McDougall on the road between this and Pembina, with the openly avowed intention of preventing his entrance into the settlement.

" It was to consider that serious state of matters that the Council had been assembled, and to see whether any, and what measures could be adopted to prevent the threatened outrage.

" The Council unanimously expressed their reprobation of the outrageous proceedings referred to by the President, but feeling strongly impressed with the idea that the parties concerned in them must be acting, in utter forgetfulness or even perhaps ignorance of the highly criminal character of their actions, and of the very serious consequences they involved, it was thought that by calm reasoning and advice they might be induced to abandon their dangerous schemes before they had irretrievably committed themselves.

" With this object in view therefore, Mr. Riel and Mr. Bruce, who were known to hold leading positions in the party opposed to Mr. McDougall, had been invited to be present at this meeting of the Council, and on being questioned by the Council as to the motives and intentions of the party they represented, Mr. Riel, who alone addressed the Council on the occasion, substantially said in the course of a long and somewhat irregular discussion, that his party were perfectly satisfied with the present Government and wanted no other; that they objected to any Government coming from Canada without their being consulted in the matter; that they would never admit any Governor, no matter by whom he might be appointed, if not by the Hudson's Bay Company, unless delegates were previously sent with whom they might negotiate as to the terms and conditions under which they would acknowledge him; that they were uneducated and only half-civilized, and felt that if a large immigration were to take place they would probably be crowded out of a country which they claimed as their own; that they knew they were in a sense poor and insignificant, but that it was just because they were aware of this that they had felt so much at being treated as if they were even more insignificant than they in reality were; that their existence or at least their wishes had been entirely ignored; that if Mr. McDougall was once here, most probably the English-speaking population would allow him to be installed in office as Governor, and then he would be our 'Master or King as he says,' and that therefore they intended to send him back; that they consider that they are acting not only for their own good but for the good of the whole settlement; that they did not feel that they were breaking any law, but were simply acting in defence of their own liberty; that they did not anticipate any opposition from their English-speaking fellow-countrymen, and only wished them to join and aid in securing their common rights; that they might be opposed by some Canadian party in the country, but for that they were quite prepared; and that they were determined to prevent Mr. McDougall from coming into the settlement at all hazards.

" The Council endeavored to convince Mr. Riel of the erroneous nature of the views held by himself and the party he represented; explained the highly criminal character of their proceedings, and pointed out the very disastrous consequences which might accrue, not only to themselves, but to the settlement generally, if they persisted in their

" present course. He was earnestly advised to exercise his influence with his party in  
 " dissuading them from attempting to molest him in any way, and inducing them to  
 " return peaceably to their homes; assuring him that sooner or later heavy retribution  
 " would fall upon them if they carried their plans into execution.

" Mr. Riel, however, refused to adopt the views of the Council, and persisted in  
 " expressing his determination to oppose Mr. McDougall's entrance into the settlement,  
 " declining even to press the reasoning and advice of the Council upon his party, although  
 " he reluctantly promised to repeat to them what he had just heard, and inform Governor  
 " McTavish of the result by Thursday at 11 o'clock.

" Mr. Riel and Mr. Bruce having retired, the Council resumed the consideration of  
 " the subject before them, and the expediency of calling out an armed force to meet and  
 " protect Mr. McDougall was suggested; but as it was seen that it would be from the  
 " English-speaking part of the community that such a force, if forthcoming at all, would  
 " be chiefly drawn, the result would evidently be to bring into armed collision sections of  
 " the people who, although they had hitherto lived together in comparative harmony,  
 " yet differed from each other so widely in point of race, of language and religion, as well  
 " as general habits, that the commencement of actual hostilities between them would  
 " probably involve not only themselves, but the surrounding Indians, in a sanguinary and  
 " protracted struggle; and the Council therefore felt that without a regular military  
 " force to fall back upon, they could hardly be held justified under almost any circum-  
 " stances, in resorting to an experiment so full of possible mischief to the whole country.

" The Council, at length, having learned that a number of the more intelligent and  
 " influential among the French were not implicated in the hostile movement against Mr.  
 " McDougall, adopted the following resolution, which was moved by Mr. Bannatyne,  
 " and seconded by Mr. McBeath, viz. :-

" That Messrs. Dease and Goulet be appointed to collect immediately as many of  
 " the more respectable of the French community as they could, and with them proceed  
 " to the camp of the party who intend to intercept Governor McDougall, and endeavor,  
 " if possible, to procure their peaceable dispersion; and that Mr. Dease report to  
 " Governor McTavish on or before Thursday next, as to their success or otherwise."

" The Council then adjourned.

" I certify that the foregoing is a true copy of the original minutes of the Council of  
 " Assiniboia, held on the 25th day of October, 1869, which said minutes are now in my  
 " custody.

" (Signed,)

SEDLEY BLANCHARD,

" Clerk of the Executive Council,

" Province of Manitoba."

" Province of Manitoba,

" Selkirk,

" To wit:

I, the Honorable Andrew Graham Ballenden Bannatyne,  
 of the City of Winnipeg, in the County and Province afore-  
 said, make oath and say as follows: -

" 1. That I was a member of the Council of Assiniboia, in the month of October  
 " A.D. 1869.

" 2. That I have compared the foregoing paper writing purporting to contain, first :  
 " Extracts from minutes of a meeting of said Council of Assiniboia, held on the 19th day  
 " of October, 1869; and secondly, a full copy of minutes of a meeting of said Council held  
 " on the 25th day of October, in the said year 1869, with the minutes of said meetings  
 " as contained in the original minute book of said Council submitted for my inspection  
 " by Sedley Blanchard, Clerk of the Executive Council of the Province of Manitoba.

" 3. That the book so submitted to me is the original minute book of said Council,  
 " and that the said foregoing paper writing is a true copy of the said original minutes as  
 " the same are contained in said minute book.

" (Signed,)

A. G. B. BANNATYNE.



" Sworn before me at the said City of Winnipeg, in the Province of Manitoba, this  
 " 6th day of April, A.D. 1874.

" In testimony whereof I have hereunto set my hand and affixed my notarial seal  
 " the day and year aforesaid.

" (Signed,) "

JOHN F. BLAIN,

" Notary Public,

" Manitoba."

(L.S.)

(No. 85.)

" FORT GARRY, 26th October, 1869.

" The Rev. N. J. Ritchot,  
 " St. Norbert.

" REVEREND SIR,—I hope you will excuse me for troubling you on the following  
 " subject, the more especially as you may already have endeavored without success to  
 " persuade the men now on the road near *la Rivière Salé*, for the purpose of preventing  
 " the Honorable Wm. McDougall from coming on into the settlement, to return  
 " peaceably to their homes, and give up the idea of forcibly stopping Mr. McDougall on  
 " the highway. But even if you have already done so, I would still beg you to make  
 " another attempt to endeavor by your influence to lead the men in question to reconsider  
 " their first intentions, and to abandon them, convinced as I am that they are acting in  
 " opposition to their interests, though I confess I have failed utterly in my attempts to  
 " make them see their actions in this light.

" I am very desirous you should see the men, if you consider it proper, as soon as  
 " possible, as the Council yesterday appointed Mr. W. Dease, with some others, to see  
 " the men who are now watching the road to Pembina, in the hope that they might be  
 " induced to disperse; but I confess I have so little hope in Mr. Dease's success, that I  
 " prefer the risk of inconveniencing you, in the hope that by your efforts beforehand,  
 " Mr. Dease's meeting with the other party may be unnecessary.

" In the hope that the desire for the peace and welfare of the settlement may be my  
 " excuse, with much respect,

" I have the honor to be,

" Your obedient servant,

" (Signed,) J. W. McFAVISH."

COMMITTEE ROOM,

OTTAWA, April 30th, 1874.

*Right Hon. Sir John A. Macdonald, K.C.B., deposed.*

Have read the Order of Reference.

As it was my duty, I waited yesterday on His Excellency the Governor General,  
 and received his permission to make any statement that, in my opinion, would not be  
 prejudicial to the public interests.

An amnesty was promised in the proclamation, the terms of which are before the  
 Committee. No difficulty existed at any time as to granting an amnesty pursuant to the  
 proclamation, after the arrival of Governor Archibald at Fort Garry.

It was not, however, asked for on behalf of the main body of the parties implicated in  
 those occurrences, and it seems to have been considered that such parties were quite safe  
 from molestation.

All requests to the Government on this subject were pressed with a view to include  
 those parties who were charged with complicity in the death of Scott. The Governor  
 General and his advisers held that the amnesty as proclaimed did not cover that charge;  
 and it seemed to be the opinion of every one interested that a proclamation, expressly  
 excluding the parties last referred to would do more harm than good.

The proclamation I speak of is that of 6th December, 1869.

I do not remember that there was any other communication from the Colonial Office authorizing the proclamation, than the telegram of the 25th November, 1869, from Lord Granville to the Governor General. There may have been other communications to the Governor General of which I have no knowledge. I do not know that there was any direct authority from the Colonial Office for the promise as to an amnesty contained in the proclamation; but, on discussion with the Governor General, he considered that he was quite warranted in taking the responsibility of making that promise—as I presume, under his general powers. I presume that he considered that, under the exigency of the case, he could assume that power without waiting for direct authority.

The proclamation, as first issued, was transmitted for dissemination in the North-West through the Very Revd. Mr. Thibault.

It was printed in English, French and Cree, at Ottawa, and sent by him. At the same time, the Bishop of St. Boniface was telegraphed for and requested to return, if possible, and use his great influence among the people of his diocese.

The Government here was informed that, though Mr. Thibault was allowed access to the Territory, he was deprived of the proclamation given him, and that they were not published.

When Bishop Taché arrived in Ottawa, circumstances in the North-West had not materially changed, and the Governor General decided that the proclamation should be entrusted for publication to the Bishop. This would cover any offences which occurred between the date of the proclamation and the date of the instructions here to Bishop Taché. To that extent the promise of amnesty went, and I do not consider that it ever went further.

My letter to Bishop Taché of date February 16th. 1870, embodies the substance of any conversations that I had as a Minister with him at that time. (See letter No. 6 in Archbishop Taché's evidence, page 19.)

Between the 6th December, 1869, and the date of this letter, it was known that sundry parties had been arrested and imprisoned by the insurgents, and that a portion of the provisions belonging to the Hudson's Bay Company had been used by them. These matters were discussed between the Bishop and myself, and I stated that the Government could not interfere to protect parties from actions brought by individuals for imprisonment or other wrong; but that, as regarded the stores of the Hudson's Bay Company, I apprehended no difficulty with them, and that if they set up any claim, the Government would stand between the insurgents and any such claim. I have no recollection of any allusion made to events that might occur between the time of Bishop Taché's departure from Ottawa and his arrival at the North-West. Of course, the Government here was apprehensive that, if order was not restored, disastrous events might occur. I do not think I told Bishop Taché that if any further crimes should be committed in the interval between his departure and arrival at the North-West, he was not to issue the proclamation.

I think the papers shew all the instructions to Bishop Taché. My letter already alluded to was written for the purpose of containing the results of our conversations. I do not think there was anything said as to new offences, nor anything restricting the Bishop's authority to issue the proclamation in the event of new offences occurring.

I assumed that if, on his arrival, circumstances remained as they were when he left, the proclamation would cover everything up to the time of his arrival. I think that would probably be the impression conveyed to the Bishop's own mind on the subject.

Bishop Taché saw the Governor General on the subject, at one or more interviews at which I was not present. But His Lordship was made aware that the power of pardon or amnesty rested with His Excellency.

The phrase in my letter "not only will there be a general amnesty granted" had reference to the amnesty promised in the proclamation. I consider that the Bishop had authority to publish the proclamation on his arrival, and that it would cover all offences of a similar character to those which the proclamation was intended to cover. The proclamation was called a general amnesty, but we understood it to mean a promise of

amnesty for the offences referred to in it. I do not think the contingency of a death having occurred before the date of the proclamation was contemplated when it issued, and I do not think its terms would have covered a capital felony. The proclamation would not have covered such a case as the death of Scott. Either that was an offence against the law, or it was not. If it was an offence against the law, it was more than a breach of the peace. If it was not an offence, it did not require an amnesty, and would not be affected by the proclamation.

Neither Bishop Taché, nor the Governor General, nor any member of the Government, took into consideration the possibility of life being taken. The only subjects, as I have stated, that were discussed, were the armed resistance which had continued for some time; the imprisonment and other wrongs alleged to have been inflicted on individuals; and the breaking into the Hudson's Bay Company's stores and using their goods.

The armed resistance was a very aggravated breach of the peace, but we were anxious to hold, and did hold, that under the circumstances of the case it did not amount to treason. We were informed that the insurgents did not desire to throw off allegiance to the Queen, or sever their country from the Empire, but that their action was in the nature of an armed resistance to the entry into the country of an officer, or officers, sent by the Dominion Government. We desired, therefore, that it should be considered in the light of an unlawful assembly, although it might technically be held to come under the statute of treasons, and it was intended that that continuous act, whatever it might be called, should come under the proclamation and be condoned by it.

We considered that the unfortunate issue of Mr. McDougall's proclamation increased the danger of hostile collision; and this subject was doubtless discussed between the Government and the Bishop.

There was a general apprehension of disastrous results, and I have no doubt but that he, as well as myself, was apprehensive of ultimate danger, unless order could be restored. But I did not myself apprehend any serious danger of loss of life, unless an armed force was sent to quell the insurrection by force, which was just what the Governor General and his advisers were anxious to avoid. The Government were aware that certain parties had been imprisoned. The information of the events then occurring were very scanty and imperfect however; and we could get no accurate statement as to the exact state of events within the territory.

When Bishop Taché went to the North-West in the spring, my impression is that he was requested to communicate with Mr. D. A. Smith, who had been instructed to act under the Canadian Government, but I cannot say positively. The papers will doubtless show.

I have no recollection of any discussion with Bishop Taché as to bloodshed being expected, beyond the expression of the general apprehension that things must get worse unless order was restored.

At the time of the interviews with Bishop Taché before he left, to the best of my recollection, the Government had been informed that Mr. Thibault's baggage had been taken possession of and the proclamations taken from him by the insurgents. I really forget if any one was to distribute the proclamations before Mr. Thibault took them; but I see by a letter dated 10th December, 1869, addressed to Mr. D. A. Smith, that a copy of the proclamation spoken of, with other papers, were placed in his hands as a Special Commissioner from the Canadian Government. This letter will show Mr. Smith's powers. (For this letter see page 51 of Blue Book, "Correspondence relative to the recent disturbances in the Red River Settlement.")

I do not remember the precise nature of the conversations between Mr. Smith and myself, but they were frequent, confidential and full. I suppose the instructions given to the Commissioners will speak for themselves.

I do not remember precisely what the instructions were, but I have no doubt they were instructed to communicate with the people of the North-West, and among others with the leaders. We recognized the existence of insurgents having leaders, but I recollect of our having been aware of their having a Provisional Government, but I do not recollect at what date we were first informed of it.

We knew that the Government of Assiniboia had been prevented from exercising their functions, and that Governor McTavish was, or had been, prisoner in his own fort.

I do not remember anything of importance occurring between this date and the arrival of Father Ritchot, Judge Black and Mr. Scott. I recollect their arrival.

Sir George Cartier and I had been appointed, I think, by Order in Council, to represent the Government in dealing with these delegates.

Judge Black and Father Ritchot met Sir George and myself at Sir George's house. Mr. Scott was absent from some accidental cause. They presented themselves as delegates appointed at a meeting of the people at Winnipeg. They presented a resolution or resolutions passed at that meeting.

Judge Black took me aside and stated that they had received and brought with them an authority from Riel, as Chief of the Provisional Government, to act on behalf of that Provisional Government, and also a certain claim, of a Bill of Rights, prepared by that Government. He asked me what was to be done with the authority and the "Bill of Rights." I told him they had better not be produced, as the Governor General could not recognize the legal existence of the Provisional Government, and would not treat with them as such. I stated, however, that the claims asserted in the last mentioned Bill of Rights could be pressed by the delegates, and would be considered on their own merits.

I understood from Sir George that he made a similar communication to Father Ritchot. Conversations between Father Ritchot, Sir George and myself were conducted by Sir George, in consequence of Father Ritchot's want of knowledge of English and mine of French.

After Judge Black and I returned to the room, we spoke plainly of the matter, and it was understood that the discussion was between the delegates of the Convention and the Canadian Government, excluding any other capacity in which they appeared. We avoided as much as possible, speaking of the Provisional Government. Judge Black desired to be spoken of as coming from the Convention, and not from the Provisional Government. The conversations took place both in French and English. I could understand Father Ritchot at times when he spoke slowly. I arrived at my understanding from what I understood of his conversation myself, and the explanations I received from Sir George when I had difficulty in comprehending. Father Ritchot understood that we did not recognize them as representatives of the Provisional Government; but I understood from Sir George that Father Ritchot was continually anxious to obtain some such recognition, while Sir George was avoiding any such recognition. We were, in fact, aware of the claim that was being made by the Provisional Government in this Bill of Rights. It had been published in the newspapers. We knew that it referred to an amnesty. Father Ritchot was pressing for an amnesty for everything that had occurred. He was told that the Canadian Government held that it had no power in the matter. It was a question for the Imperial Government alone, and the claim for such a general amnesty must be pressed by them on the Governor General, who would doubtless transmit to the Imperial Government any papers or statements laid before him. I have no doubt that the proclamation, and the amnesty promised in it, were discussed. It was understood that no difficulty would arise to the granting of an amnesty, excepting as regarded those charged with the death of Scott.

The statement of the necessity of referring to His Excellency had reference to the amnesty asked for these persons. That was the only question. I do not remember Father Ritchot saying that he had come prepared to treat with the Canadian Government, and that if they had not the power he would return, nor do I remember any such statement being communicated to me by Sir George.

I do not remember the specific reply made to them, but the result was that they were to see the Governor General while we went on to consider the other questions involved.

I was at all the meetings of the delegates until the 6th May, when I was taken ill. The question as to the amnesty to those charged with the death of Scott was suspended as it were, leaving it to the delegates to make such statements or representations to the Governor General as they thought fit.

The Government took the ground that the question of amnesty was not one for them, as the act had occurred before the territory was taken possession of by Canada.

Father Ritchot, I think, stated that no settlement would be satisfactory unless it included an amnesty to all. He did not, to my recollection or knowledge, say that he himself would take no part in the settlement unless there was a general amnesty.

I have letters from Sir George Cartier, Sir Clinton Murdoch, and Lord Lisgar, received by me last summer, and containing their accounts of what occurred.

Sir Clinton Murdoch had been sent here by the Imperial Government to arrange the terms of a joint expedition of Canadian volunteers and regulars, if an expedition should become necessary.

I produce Lord Lisgar's letter, dated 21st February, 1873, as follows:

(No. 52.)

*Lord Lisgar to Sir G. E. Cartier.*

" 21st February, 1873.

" MY DEAR SIR GEORGE, I have in recollection the interview which I had with the Rev. Abbé Ritchot upon your introduction and in your presence.

" He dwelt earnestly upon two points.

" *First.* The redress of the political grievances of the inhabitants of the Red River Settlement, with especial reference, as I understood, to land grants.

" *Second.* On an assurance of the exercise of the Royal Prerogative of mercy to cover all offences.

" With regard to the first point, I gave him satisfactory assurances of the favorable dispositions of the Canadian Government and Legislature, as indeed evidenced by the passing of the Manitoba Act. With regard to the second point, I stated I was not in a position to give him any assurance, not having received instructions on the subject from Her Majesty's Government.

" I promised to forward, without delay, the petition he spoke of as in preparation, and stated that I felt sure Her Majesty's Government would give full and serious consideration to any pleas which might be urged on behalf of the view he advocated.

" I am quite clear that neither on the occasion in question, nor on any other, did I give an assurance or promise of an amnesty to cover all offences committed during the insurrection.

" Pray believe me,

" Sincerely yours,

" (Signed,) Lisgar."

I also produce copies of two letters from Sir Clinton Murdoch to Mr Herbert, Under-Secretary of the Colonies, dated respectively 5th and 6th March, 1873.

(No. 53.)

" GOVERNMENT EMIGRATION BOARD,

" 8, PARK STREET, WESTMINSTER,

" 5th March, 1873.

" MY DEAR MR. HERBERT,—I have no recollection of any promise or expectation of an amnesty to Riel and his associates having been held out by Lord Lisgar, when Mr. Ritchot had an interview with him, in my presence or at any other time. I scarcely think if such a promise had been made I could have failed to notice it at the time or to recollect it now. As regards Sir George Cartier, I do not remember having ever had any conversation with him on the subject, or being present at any interview when it was discussed between him and Lord Lisgar.

" Very truly yours,

" (Signed,) J. W. C. MURDOCH."

(No. 54.)

"GOVERNMENT EMIGRATION BOARD,

"8, PARK STREET, WESTMINSTER,

"6th March, 1873.

"DEAR MR. HERBERT,—Will you look at a despatch which I wrote from Ottawa, dated 28th April, 1870. I had not got it to refer to last night. You will there see that an amnesty to Riel was one of the conditions proposed by the delegates from the Red River, and rejected by the Government. I have no recollection of more than one interview between Lord Lisgar and Père Ritchot. Judge Black and the delegate Scott were also present. I believe the conversation with Père Ritchot was carried on almost entirely by myself, and had certainly no reference to Riel, but only to the extent of land to be given to the half-breeds.

"I had afterwards an interview with Ritchot at the Roman Catholic Bishop's house, where he was staying, but neither did he then allude to Riel, his sole object in asking me to call on him being apparently to do away with any supposition that he was dis-loyal to the British Government.

"Ever yours truly,

"(Signed,) J. W. C. MURDOCH."

I also produce extracts from two letters from Sir George E. Cartier to myself, dated respectively 8th and 22nd February, 1873.

(No. 125.)

*Extract of letter from Sir George Cartier to Sir John Macdonald, dated 47, Welbeck Street, Cavendish Square, 8th February, 1873.*

"MY DEAR MACDONALD,—The only thing I can do to-day is to acknowledge the receipt of your last, of the 22nd January, about "Riel" matter.

"I hear Lord Lisgar is to be here in a few days, and I will hasten to see him about what passed at the interview with Father Ritchot. To the best of my recollection, nothing went beyond stating that he would transmit Ritchot's petition to the Queen, praying for an amnesty. Bear in mind that both of us stated to Father Ritchot that the amnesty was a question for the Queen, not for our Government."

*Extract of letter from the same to the same, dated from same place, 23rd February, 1873.*

"MY DEAR MACDONALD,—I have much pleasure in enclosing you a note from Lord Lisgar of yesterday, in which he states exactly what passed between him and Father Ritchot in my presence on the 19th May. He made no promise of any amnesty. He merely stated he would not fail to forward to Her Majesty the petition for an amnesty to which Father Ritchot alluded.

"Bear in mind that with Father Ritchot and the Archbishop I always took the same ground we both did—namely that the question of amnesty was not for our decision, but for the Queen and Imperial Government. In the interview of the 19th Lord Lisgar also gave assurance to Father Ritchot that the military expedition was going to Red River not to arrest any one, but to maintain order, as done by any garrison of regulars in any Canadian city where there was one. Lord Lisgar forgot to mention this in his note. As he promised it, Lord Lisgar forwarded to the Queen the petition for amnesty sent him by Father Ritchot. You are enabled now to give any answer to any question about the interview of the 19th May.

"I certify the correctness of the above extracts.

"(Signed,)

JOHN A. MACDONALD."

I do not know whether the petitions presented by the delegates was prepared under the direction of Sir George. I have seen a copy of the letter sent by Father Ritchot to

Sir George on the subject of an amnesty, and the official reply. I do not know when I became cognizant of these letters. I do not remember from whom I received copies of them. I never saw the letter to Sir George until I received the copies I have referred to.

Looking at the letter I observe that Father Ritchot refers to a promise of amnesty made by me and Sir George. He deceives himself so far as a promise by me is concerned. I made no such promise. In the conversations between Sir George and Father Ritchot, they were moving on different planes; Sir George referring to the amnesty, exclusive of the persons charged with the death of Scott, and Father Ritchot always including them.

I observe Sir George's response, in which he does not dispute the accuracy of Father Ritchot's statement. I have had no communication with Sir George respecting this, and I have no means of explaining its terms. I do not know that Sir George did communicate to me that the Governor General had expressed himself in a liberal way respecting those for whom Father Ritchot was interesting himself, that is the persons implicated in Scott's death.

Neither Sir George nor Lord Lisgar indicated to me that the latter had spoken in the sense mentioned in Sir George's letter to Father Ritchot, of 23rd May. I knew nothing at the time of the final terms of the arrangement owing to my illness.

*Question.*—Did the Canadian Government or you, as a member thereof, hold out to the delegates that the Government would use their good offices in endeavouring to secure an amnesty?

*Answer.*—Neither the Canadian Government nor I gave any such assurance to the delegates.

There was no unofficial expression of a desire that the amnesty should be granted by the Imperial Government. On the contrary, the opinion had been expressed to the delegates that the state of public feeling was such as to render the granting of the amnesty impossible. It was stated to them that it was out of the question to grant it at that moment. I do not say that reference may not have been made to the healing influence of time.

It was urged that this was a political offence, and the cases of Wm. Lyon Mackenzie Papineau and others were referred to as furnishing possible analogies.

I have no recollection of Judge Black pressing for the pardon of those charged with the death of Scott. He did not join the other petitioners in this. My impression is that he either was opposed to it himself, or that he thought it would be hopeless to ask for it then. He was still here when I was taken ill.

COMMITTEE ROOM,  
May 1st, 1874.

Examination of Sir John A. Macdonald continued :

I did not resume my duties until the end of September or the beginning of October. I read certain letters written by Archbishop Taché to Mr. Howe, Secretary of State, and his answers. I have no distinct recollection of communications after my return. Although the subject was brought up occasionally, in what manner I cannot now specify without reference to the papers in the Council office, or that of the Secretary of State for the Provinces.

No action, however, was taken by the Government that year (1870), so far as I remember. I cannot say whether there were any communications from the Lieutenant Governor himself on the subject. I cannot remember the next person I saw from the territory on the subject. I saw the Archbishop about the end of 1871. I have no recollection of seeing any one from the territory on this subject except him, from October 1870, until the fall of 1871. I saw the Archbishop here. Sir George saw him in Montreal and here. I think I did not see him with Sir George here. I think I saw him alone. He always pressed for an amnesty in its widest sense and terms.

He did not allege that he had received a pledge that there should be an amnesty,

but he always repeated that he thought himself justified in promising the amnesty. He drew no distinction that I recollect, between the authority he assumed to have on behalf of the Governor General or the Queen, and the authority he assumed in the name of the Government of Canada. He considered that his instructions or commission warranted him in promising the widest amnesty. This was disputed by the Government. He pressed that fall for the amnesty. He founded this pressure partly on the condition of the country and partly on the condition in which he was himself placed in consequence of having made these promises. He said he might be taken to have deceived the people, and that in the interests of peace the fulfilment of his promise was necessary. He said the Metis sympathized with Riel, and nothing less than a full amnesty would be satisfactory. The uniform answer to this was that these representations must be made to the Queen.

Reference was also made to the effect it might have on the English-speaking portion of the population. I do not think that the Archbishop fully appreciated what this effect might be. I do not remember Parisien's name being mentioned. I heard that other deaths had been occasioned in the territory. It was rumoured that some wrong had been done to Parisien, but I do not remember the particulars.

Among other subjects that we discussed was the Fenian raid that had been put down in October, 1871. I spoke to him of information that had been received by the Government, that Riel and Lepine, although professing to act against the Fenian movement, were really in concert with the leaders of that movement.

This he denied, expressing strongly his opinion of their perfect loyalty and that of the Metis generally. He would listen to no suggestion that he might be mistaken on that point.

The Government, however, had information, from various sources, that Riel and Lepine were playing a double game. The Lieutenant-Governor had similar information more or less reliable. At this time we were informed that these men made their headquarters at St. Joe, a village on the border in the United States, chiefly inhabited by Metis; that they both, and especially Riel, crossed the border either secretly at night or attended by an escort.

The Lieutenant-Governor received information, as did the Government here, that it was the plot of the Fenians to organize another raid after the close of navigation, and after it would be impossible to send military support from here.

We were informed that it was part of the plan to invite the Indians of the plains to join in the movement. Under these circumstances it was thought expedient to induce, if possible, Riel and Lepine to withdraw from the frontier, and go down south into the United States.

The assistance of Archbishop Taché was asked to induce them to withdraw. It was believed that in their absence full confidence might be placed in the Metis, and that they would not join in aiding such an invasion as I have spoken of.

The Bishop would not hear of any imputation on the loyalty of Riel or Lepine, but agreed that it would be for the quiet of that country if they, especially Riel, went away for some considerable time. He agreed with me that there would be a better chance of obtaining the intended amnesty sought from Her Majesty's Government if quiet was kept for a year or so. In his conversation with me I spoke of Riel principally, as I considered that if his absence from the frontier was secured there would be certain quiet.

I undertook to see that His Lordship's expenses in this mission would be paid, and I sent him a draft for a thousand dollars to be used in procuring Riel's withdrawal.

The Bishop left here for Montreal, and there saw, or communicated with, Sir George Cartier, whose opinion was that for the sake of quiet, Lepine's absence was as important as that of Riel, and it was arranged between them that the Bishop would endeavor to secure the withdrawal of both from the frontier. The primary object of the Government was to procure their absence during the whole winter; but His Lordship did not think there was any reason to doubt the loyalty of Riel, and so his exertions were promised on



the ground that it would be for the quiet of the country, and for the interest of Riel himself, to withdraw from the frontier for a considerable time, for a year or so. I considered it unfortunate that Sir George Cartier suggested the junction of Lepine with Riel: I have no particular recollection of talking with the Bishop about the elections in connection with Riel's leaving the country. We may have done so. We talked over the past, present and future prospects of the country. At that time the situation of the country was very different to what it is now. The feeling of bitter hostility between the races was then at its height, having been greatly aggravated by the Fenian invasion. The Government were in constant apprehension of a hostile collision between the races and of the bloodshed that would inevitably ensue. We may have spoken of the elections of the next year as affording an opportunity for such collisions, and, if so, to be avoided. I have, however, no recollection of conversations to that effect with the Bishop, and am inclined to believe that any such conversation must have taken place with Sir George Cartier. I am certain that it was not in the contemplation of any one at that time, that Riel would offer himself as a candidate. Such a step was not mentioned or thought of. He was then a fugitive, coming into the country to his mother's house at night or with a guard.

Having heard Bishop Taché's statement read, I can corroborate a part of it.

There was nothing said about Riel's candidature. The Bishop would not undertake to try to remove Riel by reason of anything connected with the Fenian raid, as he was satisfied of Riel's loyalty, and would not listen to anything to the contrary. His exertions were promised altogether for the quiet of the country, and for the better chance of obtaining a pardon or amnesty from Her Majesty's Government.

I cannot recall to my recollection any conversation with me as to the elections.

I do not at all mean to contradict the Bishop, however, as my opinion must have been then, as it is now, that the continued presence of Riel on the frontier would have an unwholesome effect on the public mind in Manitoba and elsewhere, and would be used as a disturbing cause at the elections, as well in Ontario as elsewhere.

The excitement in Ontario and Quebec was great as well as in Manitoba.

I would repeat, however, that the primary object of the Government was the preservation of quiet in Manitoba during that winter and until the opening of navigation. This was especially the object of Sir George Cartier in joining Lepine and Riel. This involved the division of the sum given to Bishop Taché, and it was too small an amount, in my opinion, to be a sufficient inducement for them both to remain away for any considerable length of time. The Bishop declined to treat with Riel on the ground of his complicity with the Fenian affair, uniformly asserting the loyalty of Riel. It was obviously the policy of the Government here as of the Lieutenant-Governor, notwithstanding any information they might have received or any apprehensions they might entertain, not to evince any mistrust of the Metis.

This ground therefore was put upon one side and we negotiated on the other grounds. I think I pointed out to the Bishop that there would be a better chance of an amnesty if quiet were kept for a year or two. Reference was made as to what the chances were of obtaining an amnesty. I cannot say whether it was said that Riel ought to stay away until after the elections; at any rate, I thought that one thousand dollars would induce him to stay away for a year. I was afraid if he got the whole of the money he might improvidently spend it and then return. This was frustrated to some extent by the arrangement of Sir George Cartier for the division of the money between Riel and Lepine. We carefully avoided giving any opinion that there was a chance of an amnesty. I have little doubt that I stated that it was Riel's best, if not his only chance, that as long as the excitement was kept up on the frontier the Imperial Government would not interfere.

The following passage being read from the testimony of Archbishop Taché:—"If you can succeed in keeping him out of the way for a while I will make his case mine, and I will carry the point." Sir John says; "I certainly said nothing to that effect." I may have said that I would exert my personal influence to procure action in the matter by the Imperial Government, and so far make the case my own.

Nothing was said in these conversations about the subsistence of his family. I do not remember the time when I heard that Sir George had stipulated that the money should be divided between the two, but I presume immediately after Sir George's return, which was very shortly afterwards.

I did not hear the result of the Bishop's mission that I remember.

Lieutenant-Governor Archibald did not communicate with the Government, I am pretty sure. He was in constant communication, unofficially, with Sir George and myself, but I do not remember that in any of them he referred to this subject. These \$1,000 were public funds. They were a portion of a fund placed at my disposal for prevention and detection purposes, commonly called the "Secret Service Fund."

At the time of the negotiations with the Archbishop the raid was over for the time, but we apprehended a renewal as was threatened. I think the first intimation I had of Riel's acting with the loyal population was a telegram in the public journals that Governor Archibald had shaken hands with Riel in front of the palace of the Archbishop. I think this was before the Bishop arrived.

I have no doubt that we had conversation with the Bishop as to the part Riel and Lepine had played. We heard from the Governor that he had gone over the river in the direction of the Bishop's residence to inspect a body of French-speaking volunteers, and that it was proposed that these volunteers should be brought over to his (the Governor's) residence; that he was apprehensive that if this occurred there might be a collision between the French and English-speaking volunteers, and he had therefore thought it judicious to cross the river and go over to them, instead. He said nothing as to who were the leaders of the French volunteers. He gave neither me nor the Government intimation of his having negotiated with Riel and Lepine. Upon seeing the report of his having shaken hands with Riel, I wrote for an explanation of the circumstances, which he gave, and that was:—That after an inspection the men were all marched past him singly, and he shook hands with all; that he did not know Riel or Lepine; and that he did not want to know whether they were there or not. I cannot remember whether Governor Archibald sent to the Government copies of the letter of Father Ritchot, or his reply, of October 5th, 1871.

To my knowledge the letter of 8th October, 1871, to Riel and others, was not communicated to the Government, or the letter of Riel and others which was answered by it. He did not, to my recollection, make any communication to the Government in fulfilment of the promise contained in the letter of 8th October, 1871. He did not, to my recollection, communicate to the Government the fact that he was negotiating with Riel and Lepine. I first became acquainted with it through the public prints, and as to the letter of the 8th October, 1871, by first hearing it read in the House. He never, in any of his communications that I recollect, brought before the Government this evidence of the disposition of the Metis.

The first I heard of an additional sum having been paid to Riel and Lepine was from Mr. Smith, probably at the next Session. He told me that Governor Archibald and himself and Bishop Taché had been apprehensive of an immediate outbreak of the Metis; that Governor Archibald had strongly expressed the opinion that the safety of the country depended on Riel's withdrawal from the country, and that his absence must be procured at all hazards; that the Lieut.-Governor had no money at his disposal, but that if Mr. Smith would advance the necessary sum he had no doubt the Dominion Government would repay it, and mentioned as a proof of the strength of Mr. Archibald's feeling, that there was imminent danger, and that the money must be expended; that Mr. Archibald said, "if the Government repudiate the debt I will pay half, if you run the risk of the other half," or something of that kind. Mr. Smith stated that he had advanced £600 sterling in consequence of this request, either to Mr. Archibald to be given to Bishop Taché, or to Bishop Taché himself; I do not remember which. The largeness of the sum rather staggered me, especially as I had not heard the result of the previous payment; but I did not hesitate to at once tell Mr. Smith that if the Lieut.-Governor, in the presence of such an exigency, had pledged the faith of the Dominion Government, and the money was advanced on

that pledge, that he, Mr. Smith, or the Company, should not be losers, and should be repaid. I stated that there might be a difficulty as to the means or fund out of which he would be repaid; that it would be very embarrassing, if not impossible, to go to Parliament at that time for the money, and I asked him to allow the matter to stand over, repeating the assurance for myself that it must be repaid him in some way or other. I cannot remember any interview or conversation with Governor Archibald about it, although I have taxed my memory on the subject. I of course accepted Mr. Smith's statement. It then became simply a question of when and how. I took no other steps for ascertaining how the matter stood. I remember reference being made by Mr. Smith to a sum of £500 sterling which it was desired to pay to the loyal French. The Governor may have spoken of this and of the £600 also, but I cannot remember. I have never had any doubt in my mind that this money should be paid. I intended that it should be paid. The subject was not formally brought up in Council because I was exceedingly unwilling to bring up the discussion of the Riel affair at all, in consequence of the embarrassment I felt as to the position of my Lower Canadian colleagues. I was anxious to avoid discussion lest the result might be a claim for amnesty, and, in the event of the Cabinet not agreeing upon action, resignation. The consideration of the payment was therefore postponed, as I thought it made little difference to a Company like the Hudson's Bay Company.

Early last November Mr. Smith was very urgent, and I asked him to write me a letter stating the particulars (as he had done before) of the claim, that I might bring it up before Council. He wrote such letter, but this being a few days before resignation no action was taken upon it.

It may have been the £500 that Mr. Smith was most pressing; and that the matter of the £600 came up incidentally, but he urged the payment of the latter sum. I did not think that Mr. Smith was unduly pressing for the £600. On the contrary, I thought he was very considerate. He did make frequent and pressing application for the £500, on the ground that he had made promises which ought to be performed. He said the sum was very insignificant as compared to their services. This sum was to be put into the estimates. I intended to have it put in. (A copy of the letter of Governor Archibald to Archbishop Taché dated 5th September, 1872. Also a copy of the conditions dated 6th September, 1872, upon which Louis Riel proposed to retire in favor of Sir George Cartier. Also letter from Governor Archibald to Archbishop Taché, dated 10th September, 1872. Also letter from Governor Archibald to Archbishop Taché, dated 12th September, 1872. Also telegram from Sir John A. Macdonald to Governor Archibald, dated 12th September, 1872, were here read to Sir John.)

I do not know whether I have the telegram to which the above-mentioned telegram is an answer. I have little doubt that I have it and can find it. I may have put it in an enclosure to Sir George, and will look.

We then knew that Riel was spoken of as a probable candidate.

(Sir John here read the Order in Council of 4th June, 1873, as follows):—

*"Copy of a Report of the Honorable the Privy Council, approved by His Excellency the Governor General in Council on the 4th June, 1873."*

"The Committee of the Privy Council beg to submit to Your Excellency, that having their attention called to the desire expressed by the Legislature of Manitoba, and by many of Her Majesty's subjects residing in that Province, that an amnesty should be granted by Her Majesty to those concerned in the disturbances which occurred in the North-West Territories in 1869 and 1870, and the subject having been pressed upon the Government of Canada, whose intervention has been asked, the Committee beg leave to report that these unfortunate occurrences took place before the North-West territory was acquired by the Dominion, and therefore before the Government of Canada had any control over the country, or authority in the administration of its affairs. The Committee very respectfully submit that in their opinion, although the right of extending the clemency of the Crown in criminal cases is amongst the high functions entrusted

"to Your Excellency, the exercise of that power is limited by the Royal instructions to the cases of individual criminals after conviction, and does not confer upon you the power of granting a general amnesty or special pardon before trial. No trials or convictions have yet been had against any one concerned in the troubles referred to, and the Committee of the Privy Council believe that the power to grant the amnesty asked for by the Legislature of Manitoba, rests only with Her Majesty.

"The Legislature of Manitoba having arrived at the conclusion that the time has come when the subject may be dealt with, and having conveyed their opinion in that sense to the Government of the Dominion, the Committee of the Privy Council respectfully request that Your Excellency will be pleased to bring the matter before Her Majesty's Government, in order that such course may be taken as may be thought consistent with the interests of justice and best for the quiet of the country.

"(Certified), W. A. HINSMORTH,  
Clerk, Privy Council."

The desire referred to as felt by many of Her Majesty's subjects in the Province, was made known to us both by petitions and verbal communications.

No action was taken on the despatch of 4th July, 1873, in response to the Order in Council. We considered there was no possibility of action being taken against any person other than those implicated in the death of Scott, that therefore the issue of the amnesty in the form proposed would do such persons no good, while the exclusion of those implicated in the death would greatly irritate the Metis who sympathized with Riel.

I thought that if Riel and Lepine were away for a time, and the country perfectly quiet, Her Majesty's Government might see their way to granting a complete amnesty. I intended going to England that summer on private business, and after the answer to our despatch received we considered the matter in so unsatisfactory a shape that I said I would endeavour to press it upon Her Majesty's Government. I thought of getting them to send out a Commissioner.

Another method I thought was, that the Imperial Government might upon discussion, grant a general amnesty without the Canadian Government being responsible for it, to which I would have had no objection. I recollect a conversation with Mr. Langevin and the Archbishop in the fall of 1873, when the seat in Provencher was vacant.

It was said over and over again that it would be most inexpedient for Riel to run; that it would prejudice his own interests, and prevent him obtaining that which he seemed to desire so much, viz., the amnesty.

We pressed upon the Archbishop the necessity of using his influence with Riel, to keep him from running.

The Archbishop said that he would take no further steps; that he had not been well used; that Riel's offence had been simply political.

I have no reason to doubt that I told the Archbishop that I was going to England, and that I would press the Home Government to take up the question and assume the responsibility of disposing of the whole matter. I felt that if the Home Government granted an amnesty it would be loyally accepted by the people, while, if the Canadian Government assumed the responsibility of asking for it, it would have been greatly resented by the people—at any rate of Ontario.

I have no reason to doubt that I conveyed to the Bishop the substance of what I have stated. I do not remember his asking for anything in writing. Mr. Langevin told me that he had asked him to obtain a letter promising the exertions of the Government in favour of procuring an extended amnesty.

The representations I intended to make to the Home Government were to be made by me, as expressing the opinions of the Canadian Government.

I do not think I expressed the opinion to the Bishop that my representations would probably result in the procuring of an amnesty. I did express to him the opinion, that my representations would induce them to assume the responsibility of dealing with the matter.

I could not assume, in the face of their despatch, what their action would be. I stated I would do what I could to get them to take it up and deal with it. I did not state that I would use my exertions to get them to deal with it in the way of giving an amnesty. I do not think I mentioned the commission to the Bishop. I think I said no more than that I was quite sure I would succeed in getting them to take the matter up on their own responsibility.

The Canadian Government felt that they ought not to be called upon to take action in a matter which was so difficult and unpopular. I expressed no opinion that I remember as to how the Home Government were likely to deal with it. I authorized Mr. Langevin to make a communication to his Lower Canadian friends. We were informed that they were going to meet, and that they were very uneasy and desirous of knowing whether the Government were going to do any thing, and if so, what? I authorized him to state that it was my intention to go home and take the course I have indicated in my examination.

There may have been conversation with the Archbishop about the effect of time in this matter, and the analogous cases of W. L. Mackenzie, &c., but I do not remember.

I intended to go to England as soon as possible, and to have pressed the Imperial Government to take the subject up. I had no doubt they would act one way or the other (after communication with the Colonial Minister) without delay.

Mr. Langevin informed me, as he had done before, that unless an amnesty was granted in its most extended sense before the next session, he and Dr. Robitaille would be obliged to retire from the Government, as he believed his friends from Quebec would withdraw their support, and neither he nor Dr. Robitaille could continue to be of any use to us. I expressed an opinion that before that time the Imperial Government would take it up. Mr. Langevin considered if they took it up, his Lower Canadian friends would await the action of the Imperial Government before changing their attitude.

I remember something about two months after the session being mentioned as the time within which so much might be accomplished.

The correspondence relating to the North-West, of a confidential and an unofficial character, until my illness, was principally with me.

While ill it was with Sir George.

After my recovery, it was, I think, principally with me until I went to Washington, when Sir George conducted it.

After my return from Washington, Sir George still continued to conduct most of it.

JOHN A. MACDONALD.

COMMITTEE ROOM,

May 2nd, 1874.

Walter Robert Bown, of Winnipeg, Manitoba, being examined, deposed as follows:—

I went to Fort Garry in 1863, and have resided there since. I was in Manitoba at the time of the commencement of the troubles in 1869. I was at Fort Garry. I trace the origin of the troubles to a period a year or two earlier.

They commenced, I think, in the French half-breeds, the Metis calling, as it was termed, at the church doors in opposition to the *Nor-Wester*, then the only paper in the country, of which I was firstly editor, and then proprietor.

They endeavored in this way to get the people to destroy the press. A rumor had been got up by some persons to influence the French against me, charging me with writing articles against their religion.

Some time before the actual outbreak the French Metis met at the Fort to discuss, with Governor McTavish, Dr. Cowan and others, the propriety of destroying my press.

This might be a year before the outbreak. They were dissuaded from this course by

my having printed some bills for them. These bills repudiated the action which they said had been taken by Dr. Schultz in the paper before I became proprietor. I was impressed with the belief that Governor McTavish and the authorities were in sympathy with the parties in their action. I so wrote to the Governor, and he repudiated it. I believe that the Hudson's Bay officials were opposed to the institution of a press there. I think they were unwilling that the country should become better known to the world. I heard that they had taken the press for debt. This was in Caldwell's and Buckingham's time.

The next manifestation of discontent, in my opinion, was a meeting called at Fort Garry in 1869, about three or four months before Governor McDougall's arrival.

The meeting was, I think, in the court room, and not within the walls of the Fort. This council-room was the ordinary place of meeting for the people. This meeting was confined to half-breeds, French and English. I think a general invitation to the old inhabitants of the country was given. The invitation was issued by a few French Metis, as I recollect. The object was to discuss the proposed transfer of the country. There was much discontent in the neighborhood. There was a fear that the Canadians might come in and drive out the French, and dispossess them of the lands they were living on.

This did not, so far as I ever heard, extend to the Scotch and English half-breeds. The surveyors were at that time in the country. They were engaged in the survey, but they were not at work on any land actually occupied by Metis. I believe the Metis claimed the lands under an Indian title. There were Metis living in the immediate neighborhood of where the surveyors were working. This had alarmed the people. I think that there had been no demonstration of hostility against the Company in any public demonstration before this. The next I heard was the stockade raising at Stinking River.

I did not understand that there was any discontent, at the time of the first meeting, respecting the proposed constitution of the country. There was no movement on the part of the people, I think, to obtain a voice in the mode of the country being transferred, or in the form of government to be established, until Mr. McDougall's arrival. I do not think the people thought of it particularly.

Besides the fear of losing their lands, and being driven out of the country, the Metis were discontented because they thought they ought to have a part of the £300,000.

Another cause of the uprising was, in my opinion, that certain persons were unwilling to give up power they possessed.

Many officials of the Hudson's Bay Company were dissatisfied, because they did not get a share of the £300,000 and of the lands. Mr. Thos. Taylor, who was chief trader at Fort Alexander, said they ought to have a share of the money. He did not express any satisfaction at the rising. Mr. John McTavish made about the same remark. He said nothing about the troubles one way or the other. There might have been others, but I forget who they were. Governor McTavish did not inform me to that effect, nor did Dr. Cowan. I think that some of these dissatisfied parties urged upon the people the idea of resistance to the entrance of the Canadians. I did hear afterwards that the people desired to have a voice in public matters. The first I heard of this was at the meeting after Fort Garry was taken possession of. Up to that time, if discussed, it was only quietly. This meeting was called by the French. A number of them, with Riel, came to my office to get me to print a notice of this meeting, which I refused to do. This notice invited all parties. Both English-speaking and French natives were at the meeting, I think. Up to a certain point there were certain English and Scotch settlers who joined with the French. There were only a few of them. This meeting was not looked upon as a representative one of the English and Scotch settlers. The English-speaking settlers kept aloof, I think. There were only a few of them. I cannot mention names of those who kept away or of those who were there. I can't say whether there was a representation determined upon, to be addressed to Governor McDougall. Although I was living at Fort Garry, I cannot mention the names of any persons who were there or who were not. I cannot speak even from hearsay. I can't say whether Mr. Bunn, Mr.

Fraser, Mr. Tait or Mr. Ross joined in this. The road-makers came there in 1868, in the fall, as I recollect. There was a scarcity occasioned by the failure of crops. The surveyors came in the spring of 1869, I think. The surveyors were not liked because the people were jealous that their lands should be surveyed before they were treated with. There was dissatisfaction against the road-makers, expressed on account of the supplies.

The old inhabitants, both French and English speaking, claimed rights beyond the land they actually occupied; for example, the right of hay-cutting beyond the limit. The surveyors ran over and surveyed the hay lands. I knew of no others except the old settlers taking up portions of land from those claimed by the old settlers except on the Indian reserve. There were settlers at Point du Chêne, who had taken up lands.

I was out of the country at the time of the escape from jail. This was done by the English Metis. The French-speaking settlers were opposed to this. They wished to support the Company. I left in December, 1869, and did not return till June, 1870. I went to Monckton's, and after staying there a few days, I went to a fort and remained away until June. I belonged to the so-called Canadian party. I was not with them when the arrest was made.

Previous to any talk of the transfer there was dissatisfaction, on the part of the English settlers and the new-comers from Canada, with the arbitrary rule of the Hudson's Bay Company. I remember there was a little Republic established at the Portage some years before. There were some twenty or thirty people there. They felt that their lives and properties were not properly protected.

The excitement raised by the calling at the church doors was confined to the object of attaching my papers. The French population, two or three times, expressed a desire to be united to Canada, by petitions which they sent down. I can't give the dates; it was previous to the troubles. I think that I have heard that there afterwards was a counter petition.

The Hudson's Bay Company officials, I believe, knew the people were rising, and they took no steps to put them down. They also knew that Riel and others were coming to take the Fort, and they did not close the gates. They also refused the assistance of persons willing to assist in opposing his entrance. The information as to Riel's intention to take the Fort was, as I was told, communicated to the officials by Sergeant Mulligan, Powers, and, I think, James Stewart.

There was a general feeling among all classes of the people that some of the Roman Catholic clergy feared the loss of power consequent upon the immigrants coming in. It was said that owing to the superior education of our people, they and the native settlers could not live together, and that the latter would have to move to the Saskatchewan.

WALTER ROBERT BOWN.

COMMITTEE ROOM,  
4th May, 1874.

Thomas Bunn examined:—

I am a farmer. I was born in the North-West. Have resided since 1861 at Mapleton, about 27 miles from Winnipeg. Have taken a good deal of interest in public affairs in the North-West.

I was clerk from about 1865 to 1869-70 to the Government and Council of Assiniboia, and to the General Quarterly Court.

I was Secretary to the Provisional Government in February up to the time of its dissolution. I cannot state the time when it was dissolved. I performed my last functions as secretary on the 24th June, 1870, on which day I wrote a letter to Hon. Joseph Howe, Secretary of State.

The first symptoms of discontent of which I am aware were on the 21st Oct., 1869. That was the day that notice was sent to Governor McDougall not to enter the territory. I did not however know of this notice till a few days afterwards. There was before this

a feeling of discontent in the territory, among the French Metis, and among a small portion of the English-speaking population, as well whites as Metis. This discontent was caused by the conduct of Mr. Snow, the Superintendent of the Dawson route, on account of the manner in which he was said to have disposed of the provisions which were sent in aid of the population which was then suffering from the ravages of the grasshoppers.

I have no personal knowledge of Mr. Snow's action, but he was believed to have disposed of them in a different manner from that which was intended, and which was his duty. There was also a feeling of discontent as to the action of some surveyors who were surveying a portion of the country. It was thought that they had no right to come in there until the Canadian Government had been put into possession of the country. Mr. Snow's reputed misconduct tended to promote a feeling of suspicion and dislike of Canadians.

The action of the surveyors was of more importance in producing these feelings than that of Mr. Snow. It was not so much their surveying the lands in any particular place, as the fact of their coming into the country at all for that purpose before it had been transferred.

The surveying was forcibly stopped by the people before the notice was sent to Mr. McDougall. This was by a section of the French Metis, but I do not know the place. There was no tumult or any violence of any consequence used in stopping the surveyors. I believe the Metis merely stepped on the claim, or something of that sort and told them to stop. The French Metis claimed for all the half-breeds a right to the lands of the country generally; but the English half-breeds did not put forth that claim. It is not, to my knowledge that the English Metis claim that right. They did not claim the right because there was no action by the surveyors in the neighborhood of the territory which they occupied. I have no doubt that if the surveyors had gone there some action would have been taken by the English half-breeds. The surveyors had been surveying lands in the neighborhood of those possessed by the French half-breeds, and it was rumoured that they were crossing some of them. As early as 1868 it was believed that large tracts of land were bought from the Indians, and that liquor was given for them, and this also created considerable discontent. It was said that the lands that were bought included lands that had been occupied by old residents.

It was very generally believed or apprehended among the people generally, but to a greater extent among the French half-breeds, that the whole country would be appropriated or monopolized by new comers. I myself shared that apprehension. I mean by the new comers purchasing the lands from the Indians, and thereby extinguishing the Indian title.

I was aware that the Indian title could not be extinguished by private individuals, but they might have obtained possession and claimed pre-exemption from the Government afterwards. There was no objection among the English half-breeds to the extinguishment of the Indian title by the proper authority, nor do I think there would be any by the French half-breeds when the Canadian Government should have been regularly put in possession.

I understood that the French Metis claimed that the country belonged to the half-breeds under the same kind of title by which Indians claim, namely, by birth, residence and occupation.

They claim no transfer from the Indians. The English half-breeds do not make this kind of claim, though, as I have said, they probably would have taken some action if the surveyors had come into their neighbourhood.

There was also a considerable deal of discontent produced by certain letters from a person in the settlement to the "Globe" newspaper during the year 1868, as far as I can remember. These letters contributed to create a feeling of irritability and discontent against Canadians, that is, people from Canada; more particularly against Canadians who were expected to come in; and they were excited against Mr. Mair, who was said to be the writer of those letters, and who was employed under Mr. Snow on the Dawson Road. These letters were considered to be insulting in their description of the native population,



that is, the half breeds. There was also a feeling of dissatisfaction among the people generally, but more particularly among the French, at the people being ignored in the negotiations between the Imperial Government, the Canadian Government, and the Hudson's Bay Company.

The English portion of the community had many persons among them who had influence, and who prevented excitement. The English clergy were friendly to the Canadian Government, and they had great influence with their congregations.

I believe that if the same influence had been used upon the English population that was used upon the French, they might have joined the French, and might have led to an easier solution of the difficulty. People generally had not taken much interest in the transfer, and were taken by surprise when the action was taken against Mr. McDougall by the French. I believe the French were guided by intelligent men. From their mode of action I believe that they were influenced by intelligence superior to that of the general body of the actors who appeared on the scene. I can name no one, except Riel, who is a man of intelligence. The mass of the people would have taken no action if they had not been influenced by some persons of superior intelligence. I may mention in addition to Riel, John Bruce. It would have been difficult for any person or any two persons to sway the English against the counteracting influence of the clergy to which I have referred. I am not aware that the Catholic clergy have as great influence with their congregations as the English clergy had in counteracting any action of that kind. I am not aware, either from rumour or by my knowledge, that the French clergy took the same course as the English did, in dissuading their congregations from action. When the difficulty first arose, there was no discontent among the people in the neighbourhood where I resided. There was none evinced until the giving of the notice to Governor McDougall. They did not become discontented when they first heard that the country was being transferred. It was not for some time afterwards. No other cause of the difficulties occurs to me.

The first result of the discontent was the warning to Governor McDougall against entering the country. This movement was rather spontaneous. It did not take the people long to make up their minds. It was understood in the territory that this warning was signed by Mr. Bruce. The next action on the part of the people was that they entered Fort Garry. I was at home when this occurred. I received a notice signed by Riel, to join with others of the English people for a convention to be held at Fort Garry. This was the first personal intimation I had of any action on the part of the people. I attended the meeting on the 16th November. I found Louis Riel and eleven other gentlemen who represented French parishes, and eleven gentlemen representing English parishes.

This meeting resulted in the framing and unanimous adoption of the first Bill of Rights for presentation to Governor McDougall. I was elected by the unanimous vote of the large majority of the people of my parish who were present at a meeting, and I believe the other representatives were elected by the majorities in their respective parishes. The objects for which they were chosen was to consider what was best for the interests of the country. It was proposed that a deputation, composed of two English and two French representatives, should present the Bill of Rights to Governor McDougall, and to ask him whether, by virtue of his commission, he could assure them that the "Bill of Rights" could be secured to the people. The English-speaking portion declined to name a deputation, for the reason that they knew that Governor McDougall could not secure the granting of the Bill of Rights, and therefore it was unnecessary to go. They proposed no alternative course. Before any final conclusion was arrived at as to the best mode of endeavouring to secure the Bill of Rights, Colonel Dennis entered with the proclamation of Governor McDougall and terminated the convention abruptly, according to my recollection. The unanimous agreement as to the Bill of Rights had, I believe, a soothing effect. It led to the idea of a union, and in fact effected a sort of union for the time.

The whole population, through their representatives, assented to the Bill of Rights. There was a small party, called the Canadian party, who did not concur. They numbered from 40 to 60 perhaps.

They were distributed about in various parts of the territory, but were principally in the neighbourhood of Fort Garry.

From the date of Colonel Dennis' entry there was a separation between the French and English for a time.

The effect of the proclamation upon the French was to make them strengthen themselves in Fort Garry. It increased their irritation. Its effect upon the English people is difficult to state. It was very varied. It confused them for a time. I left the Fort the day after Colonel Dennis entered. The other English delegates also left for their homes. I returned to Fort Garry on the 19th January, 1870.

I know nothing about the second branch of the Committee's enquiries.

COMMITTEE ROOM,  
5th May, 1874.

Thomas Bugh's evidence continued:—

As to the third branch of enquiry in the Order of Reference:—

I was in Winnipeg acting as secretary to the Provisional Government when Archbishop Taché arrived there, which was before the 9th March, 1870.

A meeting of the Council of the Provisional Government was then called. It was composed of delegates from the English and French parishes. It was called by a notice addressed to each member by Mr. Louis Schmidt, acting as sub-secretary, under the orders of Mr. Riel as President. They probably all got notice, and nearly all, if not all, were present. The meeting was on the 9th March, and I was present at it. None of the population were present but the Council, to the best of my recollection. This Council was created by election in the different parishes on or about the 28th February, 1870. The first proposition to have delegates was made at a mass meeting, called by Mr. Donald A. Smith, who, I think, was then under guard; or by some official of the Hudson's Bay Company. This meeting appointed a Committee which divided the portion of territory occupied by the English into electoral divisions, and settled the mode of election, and each of these sent a delegate or delegates. They did this by giving a double representation to the larger parishes. I know that the people were called together in all those electoral divisions to elect delegates, but I do not know that the French were called together for that purpose, nor do I know that it was necessary, because nothing was said about French delegates at the mass meeting. Under this system the first body of delegates was chosen. It had been understood that the English and French speaking population should adopt such method as they respectively chose. This has been generally called the Convention of January. The Council to which I have referred as meeting Archbishop Taché was appointed after the formation of the Provisional Government which had been formed by the Convention. I cannot say how the French delegates, who were called to the meeting of the 9th March, were elected. At this meeting Bishop Taché addressed them, and after speaking of his regret for some things that had happened, and stating that he had been commissioned by the Canadian Government to see them, urged them to be united as they had formerly been, and said that an amnesty had been granted. He spoke of it, to the best of my recollection, as a general amnesty. He did not produce the proclamation promising the amnesty, nor did he read it. I think he said a proclamation had been issued, but I cannot be sure. To the best of my recollection Bishop Taché did not say anything as to any conditions on which the amnesty was granted, nor anything to the effect that the people were to retire to their homes or to be quiet. He did not require that they should give up their Government at that time. He asked Mr. Riel to release immediately half of the prisoners. I do not think he gave any reason for asking only half; but the half were released. I cannot remember if he asked first for the release of all the prisoners. That part of the conversation was in French, and though I understood that language I would not be so likely to remember it. The matter he spoke of as regrettable was the death of Scott, but he did not make any exception of any one on that account

in speaking of the amnesty. There was no doubt expressed of the amnesty including every one. What the Bishop said appeared to give general satisfaction.

I do not know if it was known that the news of Scott's death had not reached Ottawa when Bishop Taché left there, but no remark was made on that subject at the meeting. I do not think the Bishop actually mentioned Scott's death at that meeting, but merely alluded to some circumstances as being to be regretted, which, I think, was generally understood to refer to Scott's death. A good many people did not believe that Scott was dead, but I think those present at the meeting of delegates must have believed it. I believe that the promise of amnesty was understood to include those who were concerned in the death of Scott.

The meeting of delegates was convened for general business.

Mr. Riel and his followers did not lay down their arms after Bishop Taché had addressed them, and promised them an amnesty, nor did Bishop Taché require them to do so.

Mr. Riel kept the remainder of the prisoners in custody for some time afterwards, releasing them gradually until on or about the 22nd of March, when I think the last was released, and he and his party remained under arms in pretty strong force, until the arrival, on the 24th June, of Father Ritchot; and they did not altogether disperse, to the best of my knowledge, until the arrival of Colonel Wolseley. But there were very few there for some time previous to Colonel Wolseley's arrival.

After the meeting of the 9th March, the delegates went home, and were from time to time summoned again. They had one or two meetings on the 9th March. The Council never demanded the release of the prisoners. I can hardly say what its powers were. It was merely devised to keep the country quiet, as there needed to be some Government. It had its last meeting on the 23rd June, to receive the report of Father Ritchot. It had a meeting or meetings in the month of May, at which certain laws were passed: for a tariff on imports, about the hay, the prevention of crime, and the like. This Council had nothing to do with the executive part of the Government. That was conducted by the actual Provisional Government, that is Louis Riel and some other officers whose names I forget.

There was a promise made by Riel at the Convention of January, that the prisoners should be released. This promise was not carried out, because, as I understood, and as he told me himself, Riel heard that certain parties were preparing to release them by force.

The Commissioner who went around to induce the people to elect representatives to the Council of February, represented to them as one reason for taking part in the election that it was to save the life of Major Boulton, and probably a release of the prisoners, but of the latter I am not sure. This was in February, not long after the formation of the Provisional Government.

It was also stated by the Commissioner that the Convention was for the purpose of making arrangements for going into union with Canada.

Notices of the election of the delegates from the English parishes were to be given to me as secretary of the Provisional Government as I understood it. This was by direction of the Commissioner, Mr. Smith. I understood that he objected to the notice of the results of the election being sent to Riel. In some cases the elected members addressed their notices to Riel and in some to me.

I produce a number of these papers as follows:—

(No. 71.)

*"Letter from E. H. G. G. Hay, to Thomas Bunn, enclosed in an envelope addressed to Thomas Bunn, Esq., Secretary of Provisional Government."*

*"Thomas Bunn, Esq."*

*"SIR,—I have to inform you that at a public meeting held this day in the school-*

"house of St. Andrew's, Mr. T. Sinclair, Jun., and E. H. G. G. Hay were duly elected as Councillors to the Provisional Government.

"I am, Sir,

"Yours respectfully,

"(Signed,) EDWD. H. G. G. HAY,

"Secretary.

"Saturday, 19th February, 1870."

(No. 72.)

*Thomas Spence to Louis Riel.*

"HEADINGLY, 23rd February, 1870.

"SIR,—As chairman of a public meeting held at the Parish Church on Tuesday last, the 22nd instant, for the election of a Councillor to represent the Parish in the Council of the Provisional Government, I have the honor to inform you that Mr. William Tait, farmer, is the duly elected Councillor for the Parish of Headingly.

"I have the honor to be, Sir,

"Your most obedient servant,

"(Signed,) THOMAS SPENCE.

"To Louis Riel, Esq.,

"President of the Provisional Government

"of Rupert's Land."

(No. 73.)

*W. Caldwell to Louis Riel.*

"ST. JOHN'S PARISH,

"Red River Settlement, Feb. 23rd, 1870.

"Louis Riel, Esq.,

"President Provisional Government.

"SIR,—I have the honor to inform you that a public meeting of the inhabitants of St. John's Parish, and the Town of Winnipeg, was held this day in St. John's school-house; Venerable Archdeacon McLean in the Chair. After hearing Mr. James Ross, the delegate from St. John's Parish, in reference to the proceedings of the recent Anglo-French Convention, the meeting accorded to him their thanks for his labours, approved his course, and agreed to send a member to serve at the Council Board of the new Provisional Government.

"Mr. James Ross and Mr. Colin Inkster having declined election, Mr. A. G. B. Bannatyne, of the Town of Winnipeg, was chosen representative of the joint constituency by a unanimous vote.

"I am, Sir,

"Yours respectfully,

"(Signed,) W. CALDWELL,

"Secretary of the Meeting."

(No. 74.)

*James Murray to Louis Riel.*

"KILDONAN, 22nd February, 1870.

"Louis Riel, President

"Provisional Government,

"SIR,—I beg to inform you that at a meeting of the people of this parish, held last night, Mr. William Fraser was unanimously chosen as Councillor for this parish, in the Provisional Government.

"I am, Sir,

"Yours respectfully,

"(Signed,) JAMES MURRAY,

"Secretary of the Meeting."

(No. 75.)

*Resolutions passed at a public meeting of the Parish of St. Clement, Red River, held in the Parish School-room, February 22nd, 1870. Mr. John Pruden, Chairman.*

" 1st. Moved by Mr. Bunn, seconded by Joseph Whiteway,—That we the inhabitants of the Parish of St. Clements, do now acknowledge and hereby declare ourselves subject to a Provisional Government, about to be formed under Louis Riel as President, and a Council consisting of twenty-four members, of whom twelve shall be English and twelve French. Carried unanimously.

" 2nd. Moved by Mr. Thomas Folster, seconded by John McKay,—That Mr. Thomas Bunn be, and is hereby elected and appointed as the Representative Member of this Parish in the Council of the said Provisional Government.

" 3rd. Moved by Alex Mackenzie, seconded by Joseph Whiteway,—That this meeting hopes that one of the first results in response to this present action of the English people, will be an amnesty to all political prisoners now in confinement, and that peace and good feeling will be once more restored throughout the whole settlement.

" (Signed,) "

JOHN KIMPLING,

" Secretary.

" (Signed,) "

JOHN PRUDEN,

" Chairman.

" To Thos. Bunn, Esq.,

" Secy. Provisional Government,

" Mapleton, February 23rd, 1870."

(No. 76.)

" February 23rd, 1870.

" This is to certify that Mr. George Gunn has been duly elected representative at a public meeting, by the citizens of St. Anns, for the Council under the Provisional Government of Rupert's Land.

" (Signed,) "

FRED BIRD,

" Chairman.

" (Signed,) "

DAVID TAIT,

" Secretary."

(No. 77.)

" At a public meeting held in the Parish of St. Peter's this 22nd day of February, in the year of Our Lord 1870, Mr. John Sinclair was unanimously elected Councillor for the said Parish of St. Peter's to the Provisional Government, which we consent to join in the same way as the other English Parishes do.

" (Signed,) "

JAMES ASHAM.

" Chairman."

(No. 78.)

" March 1st, 1870.

" These are to certify that John Norquay, sen., has been duly elected by public meeting of the parishioners of St. Margaret's Parish to represent them in the Council of the Provisional Government now established in the Territory.

" (Signed,) "

JOHN NORQUAY, JUN.,

" (Signed,) "

GEORGE ADAMS."

(No. 79.)

" At a meeting of the citizens of the Parish of St. Anns at the school-house on the 28th February, A.D., 1870, David Spence was elected Chairman, and F. H. Burr, Secretary.

" After some discussion, it was resolved,—That as there was supposed to be some in-

"formality in the election of George Gunn as our representative to the Council, which might result in his non-acceptance, we do consider it necessary to re-elect him. Carried unanimously.

"It was moved by Peter Taylor, and seconded by James Brown,—That George Gunn be re-elected. Carried.

"George Gunn then having received a majority of the votes, he was declared re-elected.

"Moved by David Spence, and seconded by John Smith,—That Abraham Foulds be chosen to bear these minutes of this meeting, together with the accompanying declaration of submission to the Provisional Government, to our delegate George Gunn. Carried.

"(Signed,)"	DAVID SPENCE,
	"Chairman.
"(Signed,)"	F. H. BURR,
	"Secretary."

(No. 80.)

"ST. MARY'S, LAPRAIRIE,  
"March 1st, 1870.

"At a public meeting, numerously attended, it was moved by Mr. Shanon, and seconded by Mr. J. Macomister,—That Messrs. F. Bird and F. Ogletree be appointed to make out the credentials to shew the election of the representatives from this parish. —Carried unanimously.

"We, the undersigned, hereby certify that at the above meeting it was moved, seconded, and unanimously carried, that William Garnoch, Esq., be elected to represent us in the Provisional Government now established in this Territory.

"Signed on behalf of the Public	"(Signed,)"	FRED. A. BIRD.
"of Laprairie,	"(Signed,)"	FRANCIS OGLETREE."

At the convention of January, a Sub-Committee was appointed to name officers.

The officers unanimously agreed to by that Sub-Committee for proposal to the convention for election were: myself, as Secretary; O'Donoghue, as Treasurer; James Ross, as Chief Justice; Bannatyne, as Postmaster General; and others for other offices whose names I forget. The Sub-Committee made no recommendation as to the President. Those recommended by the Sub-Committee were elected by the convention unanimously. The President was appointed by the convention by vote, after the Sub-Committee had left this blank. The election of the President was not unanimous. There was a good deal of excitement over the election in the convention. There was a great majority for Riel. Certain members who were absent said, next morning, that if they had been present they would have voted for Riel. There were two of these, and they were English representatives. The French representatives were unanimous for Riel.

I think the members were perfectly free to vote as they pleased. The convention was composed of men of good standing in the community, especially the English members.

Among the Sub-Committee was Dr. Bird, now Speaker of the House. I also was a member; so also were Messrs. James Ross and O'Donoghue. I think Louis Schmidt was one. I produce the original of the first resolution proposed at the meeting of Council, which was subsequently addressed by Archbishop Taché:—

(No. 81.)

(Copy.)

Resolution.

"That notwithstanding the insults and sufferings borne by the people of the North-West heretofore, and the sufferings which they still endure, the loyalty of the people of the North-West towards the Crown of England remains the same: Provided their rights, properties, usages and customs be respected—feeling assured that as British subjects, such rights, properties, usages and customs will be respected."

It was placed in my hands by Louis Riel with the request that I would move it. It was thereupon seconded and unanimously carried.

I have no other papers in my possession here, material to the enquiry.

The people were still enduring sufferings. They were lying out at night; marching from one end of the country to the other, and some were killed.

We were also away from our places under the necessity of forming this Government. I believe Sutherland had been killed and that Parisien also had been killed.

Parisien it was said had killed Sutherland. Of this latter fact I am convinced. My impression is that Parisien was a fugitive from Riel, and that there was some misapprehension as to his true position.

I believe the reason why Mr. Boulton was in confinement was because he was found in arms against Louis Riel. I do not know why he was condemned to death, unless it was for the same reason. I do not know how he was tried. I have no personal knowledge that he had been condemned to death, but I believe this to have been the case, and it was so believed generally.

I was in the country but not at the Fort, when Father Ritchot and Colonel De-Salaberry arrived. I know nothing of what took place between them and Riel.

I was at the mass meeting when Mr. Smith said he had not a copy of the proclamation of 6th December; that he could not obtain it; but he stated its effect, which was that it contained an amnesty conditional upon their laying down their arms.

He said that the copy of the proclamation had been taken from whomsoever had had it; that something had occurred to prevent his producing it. He appealed to me, as chairman, to request its production. I did so, but it was refused. I do not remember if any reason for the refusal was given. He read what was called the Queen's letter, i. e., the telegram from Lord Granville.

He read the letter from the Governor General to himself, guaranteeing the people's rights. He also read the instructions given to Governor McDougall.

This was the first occasion, I think, upon which many of these papers, including the precise instructions given to Mr. McDougall, came to the knowledge of the people of the territory.

The terms offered by Mr. Smith were not complied with. At the time of this meeting, the terms were not accepted by the French and some of the English, the English as a whole not being content to accept the explanations given from Canada.

The French had not the same confidence in the promises made. The French were not an unit. The French people expressed want of confidence in the Dominion Government.

I never knew of any reason why a general amnesty was not proclaimed.

I was not at the Fort at the time of Scott's death. I did not know that he had been in jail. I do not know where the Record of the Proceedings of the Provisional Government is. There were other resolutions besides that produced.

They were published in the *New Nation* from time to time, and I read them there at the time, and I then believed and now believe them to be substantially correct.

Mr. Bannatyne was a member of the Council.

THOS. BUNN.

COMMITTEE ROOM,  
6th May, 1874.

Andrew Graham Bellenden Bannatyne deposed:—Has lived 26 years in the North-west Territory, and was a member of the Council there. Was one of the Council under the Hudson's Bay Government. It was understood by every one in the territory that arrangements were going on in England for the transfer of the territory. The Council was a fair and equal representation of all classes and races in the settlement. We were surrounded by Indians on all sides in 1862, and a petition was sent by the people to England about that time, stating the weakness of the Government there. No attention

was paid to it. The *North-West*, a newspaper published there, constantly misrepresented the actions of the Government and the feelings of the people as a whole: this caused such a feeling of annoyance among the settlers, that they got up a petition contradicting the statements made in that paper, and expressing satisfaction with the existing Government of the territory, which was signed by more than 800 people, both French and English; and they asked the proprietors of this paper to print it. They at first refused, but they afterwards printed it on a flysheet, but not in the paper itself. Drs. Schultz and Bown were the proprietors and editors of the paper. After a short time, the Dominion Government sent up men to the territory for opening a road towards the North-west Angle: the reason assigned then was that the people were in a starving condition, and this work was provided for them. This was partly caused by this newspaper publishing a statement that the Government of the country was doing nothing for the people in providing food during the famine, which was untrue. These officials, sent from Canada, commenced purchasing land from the Indians, paying for it with provisions and spirits. The land they were purchasing was already partly numbered or claimed by settlers, who complained to the local Government. Matters began to look serious. One of these officials was summoned to appear at the Court for selling liquor to Indians, and was fined \$50. Matters were explained to these officials by Governor McTavish, and they then desisted, and matters calmed down for the time. The explanation was, as I understood, that Mr. McTavish assumed that it was not right that these lands should be purchased, as they had been surveyed and partly settled before. Some of these officials wrote to papers in Canada, and *misrepresented* the actions of the local Government, stating that they would soon have another Government there, and then they would teach the Government and the people in the territory about law. These officials charged the people £3 12s. stg. for a barrel of flour, while it could be purchased for cash at £3. This caused dissatisfaction. They worked for some officials, and got orders on a store, kept by Dr. Schultz for their pay, which were afterwards cashed by Dr. Bown. Soon after this a number of surveyors arrived in the country. This increased the dissatisfaction. Rumours were reaching the settlement through the newspapers, that the territory was being transferred to the Dominion of Canada; no official information on the subject had been yet received. The *Globe* wrote articles, that if the people received such a Government as was likely to be sent to them they were wrong. The Hon. Wm. McDougall and Schultz shortly afterwards arrived at Pembina. Public meetings were called in different parts of the settlement, and Mr. McDougall's party was stopped, or requested not to come further. The Governor and Council of Assiniboia met about the 30th October, 1869, to receive a letter from Governor McDougall to Governor McTavish. The letter was explained to the Council, and an answer sent back. These are in the blue book; and what was then done was by the advice and consent of the Council. There was also a second letter sent to the Governor and Council, and an answer returned to Mr. McDougall. This appears in the blue book. At one of these meetings of the Governor and Council, an address of welcome to Mr. McDougall had been prepared.

Afterwards matters went on, and the people of all the parishes gathered together a formal convention. They elected members from each side, half from the French and half from the English (representing English, French, Scotch and other nationalities). This convention sat until 30th November and framed a Bill of Rights, and it passed by the convention unanimously. I was not one of the members. On the 1st or 2nd December Mr. McDougall issued a proclamation announcing that he was Governor. The English party stood aloof for part of that day. They felt paralyzed for a time, and stated that the French party, who were still sitting in convention and waiting for them, should be notified of the proclamation which some of the English party doubted to be genuine. The English party requested me to take the proclamation to where the convention was sitting, which I did, and told them the reason that the English party had not met that day was, that Col. Dennis had brought a proclamation into the territory, that the country had been transferred to Canada, and that Mr. McDougall was Governor; they said it was impossible, and they would not believe it. I said I would get a copy of the proclamation, and if they



liked I would show it to them. They requested me to do so, and I showed it to them.

Riel immediately called his people's attention, and said that now more than ever they would require to be cool; that they had always stated they were British subjects, and that they were loyal to their Queen and Country, but he could not think that this could be a genuine proclamation, he doubted it; that surely the English authorities would not so ignore the rights of the people as to transfer them without even consulting them. He said also that if this were really genuine the English people would surely come up to the convention and meet them. I said I would write a note to the English party and ask them to come up; and I did so, and they came. They sat for a few minutes, explained matters to each other, and agreed to meet again in half an hour. They jointly continued with the Bill of Rights, after they met again, and decided to send two delegates from each side to see Mr. McDougall if he was still at Pembina. The French appointed their two delegates, but the English did not, as they said that they knew that Mr. McDougall had no authority to guarantee their rights, which was the object the delegation were to have in view. Does not know if the French delegates went. Mr. McDougall issued several proclamations. Col. Dennis commenced trying to arm the people in opposition to the French; took possession of the Lower Fort Garry; enlisted a number of Indians with their chief; failed in getting the old settlers to join him, and left in disgust; and then found out at Pembina, or somewhere else, that he had no authority for acting as he had been doing. While at the Lower Fort he sent up and enrolled a number of strangers, who had just come in, and who were called the Canadian party; the men were requested by Col. Dennis to return to their homes, and remain quiet until he asked for them; instead of which they gathered in the house of Dr. Schultz with their arms, in Winnipeg, for the reason, as they stated, that they were protecting private property of Dr. Schultz and of the Dominion Government, although neither kind of property had been interfered with at that time to my knowledge. The Government property there was pork and flour, in a small store adjoining the other premises, and a guard had already been placed over this property by the French party, by order of Governor McTavish, as the agent of Mr. Snow.

The French party were then in arms. The Canadian party remained in their houses for several days, Col. Dennis stating that he had ordered them to retire, or that they were there contrary to his orders, which was a constant menace to the French. Col. Dennis issued another proclamation about the 5th December; this is also in the blue book. Mr. Snow went to Upper Fort Garry with one Mr. McArthur, met the French party, offered them written conditions of surrender, and the French party accepted them. While these conditions were with them, a report came that the French were coming down to fire upon the party assembled at Dr. Schultz's house. I said that we must get all the inhabitants together and throw ourselves between them, but Riel told me that the report was entirely untrue. Fort Garry was taken possession of by the French party about 2nd November; on the 6th November a notice was issued by the French party signed, I think, by Riel as Secretary from a Council formed by them, of which Bruce was President at the time Mr. McDougall was at Pembina, requesting the English people to send delegates from each of their townships to meet them, and the convention was formed, of which I have already spoken. Fort Garry was taken possession of by the French party, and without the knowledge or consent of Governor McTavish, or in fact any one else, except their own party. There had been no guard in the Fort in the day time, but there was a watchman there at night. The Fort, since the withdrawal of the troops from there, had been used merely as a place of business.

A. G. B. BANNATYNE.

COMMITTEE ROOM,

7th May, 1874.

Examination of A. G. B. Bannatyne continued:—

Has no knowledge of the causes which have retarded the granting of the amnesty announced in the proclamation issued by the late Governor General of Canada, on 6th December, 1869.

In January, 1870, a mass meeting of all the people was held at Fort Garry, when Mr. Donald A. Smith addressed the meeting, read letters which are in the blue book; but I cannot characterize any of them; and promised the people that if they would only work together, that all, notwithstanding what had arisen, would be arranged, and that he could promise amnesty to all parties who had been engaged in the disturbances. I was present at this meeting and acted as secretary on the second day. I cannot say whether Mr. Smith or any one else read the proclamation or not. All the papers that Mr. Smith asked for, I believe were read, but nothing was said to the people as far as I can remember, about laying down their arms, or about their becoming peaceable and loyal subjects, and submitting to the law.

Mr. Smith, was introduced to the meeting, and announced himself as a Commissioner from the Canadian Government, and read a letter from that Government to that effect. Remembers that a letter was read by Mr. Smith, which was signed "John Young." Mr. Smith being asked if that was the Governor General of Canada, said he was; but I do not remember what the substance of that letter was. I do not know how the letters or papers came into the possession of the Provisional Government, but they were produced by the Secretary of that Government, Mr. Schmidt, on Riel question; there was much discussion about the production of those letters, but I cannot say whether a strong effort was made to prevent them being read.

After the mass meeting the people were again in convention about 15th March, 1870. It was a meeting of the Provisional Government, elected by the several parishes. I was there as a representative from St. John's and Winnipeg. We were advised by Archbishop Taché, who stated that he was very happy to see the people united. He trusted there would be peace in the country. That he had been summoned as a Commissioner from Rome, representing, as I understood, both the Imperial and Dominion Governments, and we understood that, in that capacity, he promised us that there would be a general amnesty, covering all past acts, and it was only after this statement that we really felt that we would have no civil war. After this the Provisional Government went on peaceably until the arrival of Col. Wolsley. The delegates to Canada had been appointed at the instance of the convention in January, and Archbishop Taché urged that they should be sent immediately. Did not hear the Archbishop read any proclamation of amnesty at the meeting above referred to, but I had understood that he had read or explained the proclamation to certain parties there. The delegates were sent to Canada soon after, and brought with them the Bill of Rights which had been prepared by the Provisional Government; I believe that it was the same that was prepared by the Convention. In the following June, when the Provisional Government were in Session, the delegates returned from Canada and told us that a general amnesty was granted. The Rev. Mr. Ritchot was the delegate, who made this statement to the Provisional Government; the other delegate, Mr. Scott, told me the same personally. Does not know of any other promises of amnesty before Confederation. Since Confederation I have been appointed a member of the North-west Council by the Canadian Government, and also Police Magistrate and Postmaster. The people did not lay down their arms on Mr. Taché's statement, but they continued only for the peace of the country. The same state of things continued after the Archbishop's statement at the request of the Convention, until the arrival of Col. Wolsley. I believe that Mr. Smith promised that if the English party joined in the election of delegates to the Provisional Government that the prisoners would be released, and Major Boulton would not be executed. This I understood was promised by Riel as well as Mr. Smith, and that Archdeacon McLean, who accompanied Mr. Smith, I understood also made the same promise. No question was raised to my knowledge, of the English delegates not acting in the Provisional Government unless they were promised that Major Boulton should not be executed.

A. G. B. PENNATYNE.

## COMMITTEE ROOM,

8th May, 1874.

William Cowan, M. D., deposed:—Have lived in the territory about twenty-three years in the service of the Hudson's Bay Company. One of the causes of the disturbances was discontent with the conduct of Canadians who had come into the country; another was the report of the transfer of the country by the Hudson's Bay Company to Canada, without the people being consulted; another, that the Canadian Government was coming into the country, without sufficient arrangements being made before-hand with the people. I state these as the reports that I heard, and I know of two circumstances that gave force to these causes, the weakness of the Hudson's Bay Company in the settlement, and the general ignorance in Canada of the country and people. I date the weakness of the Company's Government from 1857, when the English-speaking people became dissatisfied, while the French continued well affected to the Company. This arose from the investigation of the Company's officers in England, and the discussions that took place in consequence, both in England and in this country. As long as the Canadian Rifles were in the settlement there was quiet and order; but when they were withdrawn, and the Indian massacre took place in Minnesota, the people petitioned the Imperial Government to replace the troops, and when the petition was refused dissatisfaction again arose. The next great difficulty after that was in the spring of 1863, arising from the trial of an Englishman for a criminal offence in the settlement, for which he was convicted. He had been a rather prominent opponent of the Company politically, and on that ground a strong feeling was created in the settlement in his favor among the English. During the first months of his confinement there were frequent threats of taking him out of gaol by force, and at the end of two months a petition was presented to Governor Dallas for his release. But the Governor referred it to the judge and magistrate, who recommended that it should not be granted, and it was not granted. The friends of the prisoner soon after assembled at a Session of the Petty Court, and when the Court was over they broke the gaol and released the prisoner. The following day one of the gaol-breakers was arrested and imprisoned, and an application was made for his release, which was refused by the Governor, and his friends came there armed and in broad day took him out of prison. The sheriff had endeavored to raise a force among the English to defend the gaol, and could not, and the French then came forward and offered themselves to the Governor for that purpose; the Governor refused this on the ground that he did not wish to set one portion of the people against the other. A strong memorial arising out of the matter was sent by the magistrate to the Imperial authorities for assistance, but no answer to it was ever received. This added to the dissatisfaction; one, or two minor matters afterwards occurred. No assistance came from England. The Hudson's Bay Government grew continually weaker, until finally the outbreak took place. Before this occurred Col. Dennis had commenced a survey under the directions of the Canadian Government, and complained to me that he had been obstructed in his work by Louis Riel. I sent for another magistrate, Mr. Goulet, and Riel coming into the post at the time, I sent for him, and he came before us. We told him of the complaint, and in answer, he said they had no right to survey nor had they any right in the country whatever. We explained to him that the survey could do them no harm, but would rather be an advantage, and that it was quite legal as the Company had consented to it. Riel finally said he would think over what we said, and would come on the following day and give his answer. He came the following day, and I took him to Governor McDougall, who discussed the whole matter with him for two or three hours. He explained to him that he was acting illegally, and that the survey would not in any way affect their lands or their rights. The complaint was allowed to drop by the magistrates, as we thought that after the explanations that had been made there would be no further difficulty, as there was no opposition to the survey in other parts of the settlement, where they were then surveying. We failed to influence the French, because I think that they thought that we were coming under the influence of the Canadians, and were working in accord with the Canadian Government.

Soon after this we heard that Mr. McDougall was coming in as Governor, with others.

to act with him in the Government, and that the French intended to oppose him, and they were assembling at Rivière Salé for that purpose. As soon as we were assured that the Governor was coming in, the Council of Assiniboia was called by Governor McTavish. The Council met, presided over by Judge Black, as Governor McTavish was ill, and it was then unanimously resolved that an address of welcome should be presented to Mr. McDougall, and the address was accordingly prepared. This was on the 19th October. On the 22nd October, the affidavit I now produce was made before me:—

(No. 82.)

*"Red River Settlement,*

*"To wit:*

*"Walton Hyman, of the Parish of St. Norbert, in the said Settlement, Tanner and Currier, maketh oath and saith, as follows:—*

*"During the afternoon of yesterday, some twenty men or thereabouts, fully armed, made their appearance at the crossing of the River Salé, on the road between here and Pembina; and other and smaller parties of men, also armed, kept coming in during the afternoon and evening, till as many as forty were in the party. That the said party of forty men are now billeted (or were, when the deponent left home, this a.m., at which time they had sent off some men for more provisions) round in the adjacent houses; that the men composing the said party, deponent believes, all belong to the Parishes of St. Norbert above mentioned, and St. Vital, and that the avowed object of meeting in arms and waiting at the said point, was to turn back the new Governor, Mr. McDougall, and bid him not to enter farther into the colony. One of the men, in conversation with the deponent, who was naturally anxious to find out the meaning of such an assemblage with arms in their hands, told the deponent that the above was their object; and further said, that if the Governor persisted in attempting to come farther than that point, i. e., the crossing of the River Salé, they would shoot him. The deponent saith further, that he was informed by this party, and believes the same (inasmuch as he saw a number of horsemen passing previously), that another party mounted, supposed to consist of twenty men or more, are now in advance somewhere about Scratching River, accompanied by a man named Riel, whose intention it is to stop the Governor and submit to him several questions or rather demands, in the event of refusing which, he is to be warned not to proceed.*

*"There is a farther and new party between the two points mentioned, which this deponent, from information received, believes to number forty men.*

*"Should the Governor persist in coming forward, notwithstanding repeated warnings, these parties will fall back on the reserve at the River Salé, and there final action will be taken; as above mentioned, should he still further endeavour to force his way on to the Settlement.*

*"The deponent further saith, that among other houses in the vicinity, where certain of the forty men at the River Salé are billeted, ten of the armed party find quarters at the house of the Curé the Reverend Péré Ritchot.*

*"Finally, that this deponent seriously believes that the said men are truly in earnest, and that without prompt action be taken by the authorities to avert the same, a serious calamity is about to ensue in an outrage which may be of a fatal character, on the person of the Honorable Gentleman now about entering the Colony to assume the charge of the Government.*

*"(Signed,) WALTON HYMAN.*

*"Sworn before me at Fort Garry, }*

*"this 22nd day of October, 1869. }*

*"(Signed,) WILLIAM COWAN, J.P."*

I at once took it to Governor McTavish, who at once called another Council. That Council met on the 25th October. Riel was there, introduced by one of the Council, to explain the reason of the movement. A lengthy discussion took place on the subject of

this affidavit, and of the movement generally, and Riel said, that he would consider what had been said, and give his answer to Mr. McTavish. One of the Council, a French member, said after Riel left, that the older French people had approved of the movement. The Council had before them the bringing in of Mr. McDougall with a large force, but several members having said that the people would not go for that purpose, as the Canadian Government should be prepared to protect their Governor themselves. Nothing came of the discussion. Two of the French members of the Council were appointed to go among the French people, and endeavor to get them to allow Mr. McDougall to come into the territory. They went to where the French party were assembled, but on the following day we heard that, notwithstanding this, the French party had gone up armed, and as both of the French parties were very much excited, a serious outbreak between them was feared. Governor McTavish then recalled the Order of the Council, directing them to go up unarmed. About this time we first heard that the Rev. Mr. Ritchot was the prime mover in the French party. On hearing this, Governor McTavish wrote to him, invoking his aid to restore order and quiet the people. This letter is in the Governor's letter book. After this letter was written, Father Ritchot came to Governor McTavish, and spent some hours with him in warm discussion of the matter. I was not present, but Mr. McTavish informed me of it, and said that he was under the impression as the result of the interview that Father Ritchot would assist in restoring order. We afterwards heard that Father Ritchot went to the meeting of the French party, and informed them that Governor McTavish coincided with them. He told them not to give way. The Council of Assiniboia met again on the 30th, and approved of the letter from Governor McTavish to Mr. McDougall, which is in the Blue Book, and it was forwarded to Mr. McDougall. On the 3rd November the French party took possession of Fort Garry. In the afternoon I saw about twenty armed men apparently leaving from the inside the back gate of the Fort, which was always kept locked. This was the entrance from the Governor's premises, which were usually kept private. I spoke to them, enquiring of them what they were doing there, and they said they were ordered to guard that gate by their superiors, and that Riel was in the Fort wanting to see me. I saw him, and he told me he was very sorry that it was forced upon him to come into Fort Garry, that they respected the Company's property, and that nothing would be touched, and no one would be injured, and that they would not remain longer than two or three days. I told him to withdraw his men immediately, and he said he was very sorry he could not do that. He said he had 120 men. I had about fifteen including the Governor. I told him he had taken forcible possession, and he would be responsible for it. Riel wished to see the Governor, but he was too ill. He, however, sent him a message by me to withdraw at once from the Fort. Governor McTavish and I had before this considered the possibility of defending the Fort, and we had decided we could not get a sufficient force to do so, those who were best affected to the Company being then in insurrection. Riel had told me that he and his party were there to protect the Fort, as they knew the circumstances of the country. After that, the Provisional Government was formed, and Riel became President. I am not aware of any sufficient causes for these disturbances or outbreaks. There were pretexts put forward, but there was no real ground.

Know of no causes for the retarding of the amnesty, or of any subsequent promise of an amnesty. There was a mass meeting of the people in January. At the meeting there was a great deal of excitement about the non-production of some papers brought into the settlement by the Rev. Mr. Thibault and Col. De Salaberry, which were taken by Riel's people. After some discussion these papers were produced. My impression is, that the proclamation was read. At any rate the substance of it was distinctly stated, and I remember the part of it particularly about laying down their arms. The French party, however, did not then lay down their arms, but continued in arms until Colonel Wolseley's arrival.

WILLIAM COWAN.

COMMITTEE ROOM,

8th May, 1874.

Honorable Joseph Royal examined:—

I am a member of the Provincial Cabinet of Manitoba. I arrived in the North-west in August, 1870.

I returned to Montreal in the latter end of September, 1870. Sir George Cartier telegraphed to me enquiring whether I intended to return to Manitoba, as I had only gone there on a visit in the first instance.

I had been his chief law clerk.

I met him at Montreal. Having ascertained that I intended to return, he spoke to me on various subjects connected with the Province. One of the first points he referred to was the amnesty. I had found while at Manitoba a general expectation that the amnesty would daily arrive. I had been present at an informal meeting of Riel's Council on the eve of the arrival of the troops, when the subject of presenting an address to Governor Archibald was discussed, they then expecting that he would arrive a day or two in advance of the troops.

In the interview referred to I said to Sir George, I intend to go to Manitoba if the amnesty is to be proclaimed.

He advised me very strongly to go, for several reasons. He enquired if I had seen Riel. He told me to tell Riel, and write to him, "*L'amnestie est une affaire décidée, c'est une affaire faite.*" He stated that it was a settled affair; "that the thing was done."

He expressly asked me to inform Riel of this, and to write to him if I could not see him.

He added, "tell Riel, also, to go away from the country for five or six years, so as to let the excitement pass away." He mentioned no condition as annexed to the amnesty. He thought Riel had better leave in order to prevent the excitement which he thought might continue if Riel remained. The proclamation of the amnesty was not to be delayed for the five or six years or for any time. I did not ask him what would be the object of granting the amnesty if Riel was to leave the country. I had myself the idea that it would be better for Riel to keep away for a few months at any rate; while the troops were there for instance. I saw no other Member of the Government on this occasion.

I returned to Manitoba in the month of November, 1870, Riel being then at St. Joseph of Pembina. I wrote to him the effect of the conversation between Sir George Cartier and myself.

He merely acknowledged the receipt of my letter, and complained that they were taking their time to fulfil their promise. He said nothing about his absence from the country. He remained away during the December elections. I have frequently seen Riel in Manitoba since.

When I returned to Manitoba after my conversation with Sir George I found that the same strong expectation of the early arrival of the amnesty existed.

Sir George said nothing to me, as far as I remember, about difficulties existing between the Imperial and Dominion Governments on the subject of the amnesty in consequence of the death of Scott.

He said nothing about the death of Scott as far as I remember.

Riel remained at St. Joseph of Pembina until June, 1871. As far as I know, or can recollect, he did not make his appearance in the territory at all after his departure until that time. If he had come over even, privately I should have known.

I was called in as a member of the Government by Mr. Archibald in March, 1872.

I was Speaker of the House in October, 1871, when the so-called Fenian invasion took place. I acted as intermediary, when the first news of the Fenian invasion came, between the French half-breeds and the authorities. I explained to the former the nature of the Fenian movement and of the invasion. They were ignorant of both, and Governor Archibald thought they were somewhat slow in expressing their loyalty.

The French proclamation about the Fenians was two days later than the English, having been accidentally delayed. I never heard Mr. Riel's name mentioned as having anything to do with the Fenians. Before the raid there were rumors of a large Irish colonization movement being organized in the States.

The population did not know that there was to be any armed invasion. O'Donoghue's name was mentioned in connection with it.

Until the nature of the Fenian raid was explained to the half-breeds by myself and two or three others, they did not appear to be aware that the Fenian movement was a hostile one.

These others were the Rev. Mr. Ritchot, Rev. Mr. Dugas, Mr. Dubuc, and some few others.

The explanations were made about the middle of the week, as soon as it was known that a body of armed men were on the frontier, and by Saturday they had organized a body of men, of part of which I was in command. On Sunday they were met by Governor Archibald, and on Monday morning started for the frontier. On that occasion I know that Riel acted in perfect accord with us, and I saw the letter he wrote to Governor Archibald. That letter was written by Riel, as well on his own behalf as on that of those concerned in the troubles, and it asked in substance, if he and his friends would be protected from arrest or molestation if they should come forward and take an active part in the defence of the territory. Riel was then living five miles south of Fort Garry, and he then assisted us very much in explaining the nature of the Fenian invasion.

If Riel had been playing a double game I would have been in a position to know it, as far as a man can judge of another man's words or acts. I was not present at any Sunday meeting when Delorme made any propositions about the Fenians.

I have been always placed under the impression by Governor Archibald that the amnesty had been granted, and that its promulgation was only a question of time; and when I entered the Cabinet I did so under that impression.

I had many conversations with Governor Archibald about it; in fact the amnesty was a standard subject of conversation between us during the last four years. I cannot recollect the exact words that passed on these occasions, but the impression that the amnesty had been granted was rather conveyed to me by implication than directly asserted by Governor Archibald. I understood there were some technical difficulties at first in obtaining it, and then that the proper opportunity for promulgating it was being awaited. It was never denied till Governor Morris came, that the amnesty had been granted. Governor Morris said that it had not been granted. He was then Chief Justice and Administrator of the Government, and he said to a deputation that he was never made aware of the granting of an amnesty, and that none had been granted while he was a member of the Government here, to his knowledge, or words to that effect.

I had no communication direct with Mr. Dorion on the subject of Mr. Riel's candidature last election, both Governor Morris and Monseigneur Taché told me that the present Dominion Government were very desirous that Mr. Riel should not become a candidate. I understood from both that there had been correspondence between them and Mr. Dorion by telegrams as well as letters about the candidature of Mr. Riel.

JOSEPH ROYAL.

COMMITTEE ROOM,  
12th May, 1874.

James Spencer Lynch, of Manitoba, examined :—

I went to Manitoba in June, 1869, and remained until March, 1870.

I consider the chief, if not the sole cause of the troubles was the operation and working in various ways of a conspiracy among the Roman Catholic clergy.

I found my opinion on the fact that these clergy exercise an almost unlimited control over their people in their affairs, and that it was scarcely probable that such a departure from their usual ways should have taken place without the encouragement of their priests. Had any disapproval been shown by the priests at any time the course taken by these people would have been abandoned.

I never was a witness to the exercise of any influence by the priests in this particular matter; but I have heard very many times in the country before the troubles began, and from persons I think credible, that the priests were exciting the people to the course they afterwards took by inflammatory discourses.

As to particular persons, Father Ritchot's name, I remember as having been among those who so spoke. Others were named, but I do not recollect their names, save that of Father Lestanc. I cannot remember the names of any of the persons who told me of their inflammatory discourses. The statements were so frequently repeated that I have lost recollection of particulars.

I was much through the country during the few months preceding the troubles, as well through the French as the English parishes, and I found almost universal satisfaction existing with reference to the proposed change of Government and the acquisition of the country by Canada.

The people generally did not fully comprehend the nature of the change, but whatever it might be they had full confidence in the good faith and good intentions of Canada towards them.

I was travelling through the country as an intending emigrant, desirous to inform myself of what might be useful to me.

Such dissatisfaction as I found existed chiefly among traders who had, under the existing regime, a practical monopoly, and who were hostile to a change which would probably produce competition in their business; and among certain United States citizens resident in the country, whose hopes were for annexation to the United States; and among certain hangers-on of the Hudson's Bay Company, who imagined the Company to be not in accord with the Canadian Government, and who acted as they thought would please the Company.

The influence of any one class of these three classes of discontented persons was very slight, but the language they constantly used to the half-breeds was, subject to the other cause I have already mentioned, successful in creating doubt and distrust in the minds of the half-breeds.

Thus these persons were made to appear as the real agents in the troubles, though but for the first cause I have mentioned, I believe their efforts would have been quite futile.

The course of conversation pursued by these traders and others was to remind the half-breeds that they had been a very happy people, but that all was to be changed, and that they were to be set aside to make room for strangers and foreigners.

I have heard this sort of talk. They were more innuendoes than plain statements.

The people did not consider and were not aware that they had grievances till they were educated to it by the means I have above described.

Considerable feeling was aroused among the people by the acts said to have been committed by Canadians in the country. For example, it was said that individual Canadians were taking up vast tracts of lands; were disrespectful to the natives of the country; used reckless language as to the change that would ensue on the arrival of Governor McDougall; and that some or all of them who held official positions dealt dishonestly with the natives.



These statements were pretty widely circulated, and pretty generally believed among the Metis.

I have been told that Father Ritchot has made such statements in church, and also other priests; and as a rule the other classes to whom I have referred, believe these statements of the priests, from whom they seem to take their cue, and circulated the same statements.

My own observations led me to believe that these reports were not altogether unfounded but were largely exaggerated.

There were a few reckless persons among the Canadians there who used foolish expressions, but this number were very few indeed. I do not believe there were half-a-dozen such persons, but their improper language was laid on the shoulders of the whole body.

I am confident that in the majority of cases the reports of dishonest dealings were entirely without foundation, but I believe that in some few cases there was foundation for the reports, though even in these cases the gravity of the offence was much exaggerated.

I have, however, no personal knowledge which would enable me positively to affirm or disaffirm these reports.

I have always held to the opinion that the conspiracy which I have mentioned as the chief cause was not confined to Manitoba, but that suggestions were made from time to time by persons in the other Provinces who acquired knowledge of the proceedings of the Government here, and, from time to time, informed the conspirators how far it would be safe for them to go.

My first reason for so believing is, that these persons would not have dared to go to the extent they did without some assurance on which they could rely that they would be protected or that their offences would be condoned.

Again, their conduct from time to time bore evidence of advice given from time to time; a certain course was pursued for a period, and then, without reason apparent on the spot, it was entirely abandoned for a different course.

It can scarcely be a coincidence that these persons framed a "Bill of Rights" which was just what the Government was prepared to grant them.

I cannot think, at present, of any other reasons for my opinion. I had no personal knowledge of the intervention of persons in the other Provinces.

I think the position of the Hudson's Bay Company, as to the troubles, was that of a third or neutral party. They did not take sides.

I have reason to believe there were some individuals in the service of the Company who sympathized with the insurgents, but that such persons did not in this represent the feelings of the Company as a whole.

I believe the Company's government might have done much to arrest the course taken by the insurgents had they called in the assistance of the loyal portion of the community, English and French; but as they did not do this they were unable to repress the affair of themselves.

Their course throughout in the main was a passive one. I do not believe they had anything to do with the origin of the affair; however much some of their servants may have sympathized with it later.

I have no knowledge of the causes which led to the withholding of the amnesty promised in the proclamation of the 6th December, further than the fact that the murder of Scott was subsequent to the issue of that proclamation, and that event, I suppose, was the cause of the provisions of that proclamation not being carried into effect.

I do not know of any promises having been made of an amnesty subsequent to the proclamation of the 6th December, either by D. A. Smith or any other person.

J. S. LYNCH.

COMMITTEE ROOM,  
13th May, 1874.

Thomas Spence, Clerk of the Legislative Council of Manitoba, examined:—

I have lived in the North-west territory for eight years. In 1868 Mr. Snow was sent from Canada to construct roads, and the half-breeds at Point du Chêne were very much dissatisfied at his purchase of a block of land, some five miles square, from the Indians, the half-breeds considering that they were themselves entitled to the land as a settlement.

Mr. Snow, finding that difficulty would arise out of this, agreed not to insist upon the purchase, and matters were quieted for the time, Mr. Snow having paid the Indians £50 for the land.

Mr. Mair, who was paymaster under Mr. Snow, was ordered to leave the territory in consequence of some letters he had written to the *Toronto Globe*, which had created great excitement and indignation all over the territory; but he was afterwards allowed to return and remain, through the intervention of Governor McTavish, after apologizing to the leading half-breeds and promising that he would write no more letters of such a nature.

Difficulties began to accumulate. Surveyors who had come from Canada went on the lands of the settlers to survey, and the people, who considered they had no right to do this, were dissatisfied, as they thought that this was taking possession of the country by Canada. I explained the true condition of the matter to some of the most intelligent, but they were not pacified, and began to hold meetings themselves, with a view of putting a stop to the surveys.

The appointment of Mr. McDougall as Governor added to the excitement, and as no official explanation could be given of these proceedings by Governor McTavish, this added to their suspicions, and they finally determined to keep Mr. McDougall out of the territory.

There may have been other causes in other parts of the territory, but these are the principal causes in my belief of the disturbances.

I had organized a Provisional Government in 1867 over a part of the territory which was occupied by about four hundred people. I had communicated this organization to the Imperial Government, and upon hearing from the Imperial authorities that our proceedings were illegal, the organization was broken up. This matter had nothing whatever to do with the outbreak or disturbances in 1869 or 1870. This organization was made simply as a matter of protection for ourselves, as we were outside the Government of the Council of Assiniboia, as Governor McTavish informed me himself.

I do not know of any of the causes that retarded the issue of the amnesty promised in the proclamation of Sir John Young, on 6th December, 1869.

I have had no communication, either verbal or written, with any member of the Canadian Government on the subject of an amnesty. I have no knowledge myself of any public promise of an amnesty by Archbishop Taché, but in general conversations he told me that there would be an immediate amnesty. This was soon after he came from Rome. I cannot remember any distinct words of Governor Archibald on the subject, but the general impression in the territory was that he had said that there would be an amnesty, but he never said anything to me personally on the subject. The impression to which I refer was among the French half-breeds. I suppose it was also among the English, from a newspaper, the *News Letter*, published at the time of the Fenian raid.

I was one of a deputation that waited on Governor Morris on the subject of the amnesty, when he denied any knowledge of an amnesty.

THOMAS SPENCE.

COMMITTEE ROOM,  
May 13th, 1874.

The Honorable John Sutherland examined:—

I was born and brought up near Fort Garry, and have lived there all my life. I do not know of any one special cause for the disturbances in 1869-70; but I know what parties have described as grievances, and as being the reasons for the disturbances. One special reason was, that the people were being disposed of without being consulted, and did not know what was going to be done with them. Another was, that surveyors were said to have gone through the old settlers' lands, and to have drawn lines upon them. By the old settlers' lands, I mean those lands that were then occupied by the old settlers, and which they claimed as their own. I do not know this fact personally, but I have been credibly informed of it. The surveys took place in what is now called the County of Provencher, which was principally occupied by French half-breeds. I do not know of any other causes worth mentioning. There were some other minor complaints, but I always considered those the principal causes.

I know nothing at all of the causes which delayed the amnesty referred to in the proclamation of the Governor-General of Canada in December, 1869. Nor do I know anything about any promise of amnesty.

JOHN SUTHERLAND.

COMMITTEE ROOM,  
May 15th, 1874.

Honorable Adams George Archibald, Lieut.-Governor of Nova Scotia, being examined, deposed as follows:—

I was not in the North-West Territory until after the disturbances of 1869 and 1870 had ceased, and therefore cannot testify as to the causes of those troubles.

I left Ottawa on the 8th August, 1870, to assume the position of Lieut.-Governor of Manitoba, and arrived at Fort Garry on the 2nd Sept. of same year.

I had no communication with the Government of Canada as to the amnesty referred to in the proclamation of December 6th, 1869, and knew nothing of it except from its own terms. I therefore knew nothing of the causes which retarded the granting of that amnesty.

My intercourse with the Canadian Government respecting Manitoba commenced about the 20th May, 1870, when Sir George Cartier asked me if I would go there. About that time Sir John A. Macdonald was ill, and my communications were with Sir George Cartier until long after I had gone up to Manitoba. Some months after going there Sir John wrote me for the first time, and from then I corresponded mainly with him.

I do not think that I could say that I had received any instructions about the amnesty. Sir George Cartier said to me in effect: "Now you are going up to the country while its affairs are very unsettled; you must exercise your best judgment, and do what you can to preserve the public peace; we have implicit faith in your discretion and good sense." I think the subject of the amnesty was mentioned, but as far as my recollection goes it was always assumed to be a matter for the Imperial Government.

That was the line Sir George Cartier took in his conversation. I do not think the proclamation of the 6th December was mentioned to me. I do not think I knew of this proclamation when I went up. The position of the so-called Provisional Government was not discussed.

I do not think the murder of Scott was mentioned. I think the whole matter of the disturbances was spoken of as a very important affair; but no reference was made to particulars. Probably it was assumed that I was aware of them. I do not remember anything being said of the nature of Colonel Wolseley's expedition except what was said

in the House of Commons during the debate on the subject. If anything was said to me privately it was in a similar sense.

I saw Archbishop Taché before I left, at Montreal, about the 16th July, 1870, by appointment. I travelled with him part of the way to Niagara, and met him again there.

I think Bishop Taché told me at Montreal that an amnesty had been promised. He always took that line. We discussed very fully all North-West matters. The Bishop's statement that an amnesty had been promised rendered it apparently unnecessary for me to apply for any specific instructions in the matter.

There was some public excitement at Toronto, I think on account of Bishop Taché and Sir George travelling together, and Bishop Taché therefore left us at Toronto and met us again at Niagara. There was no discussion at Niagara on the subject of the amnesty in which I took part or at which I was present, but I understood from Sir John Young that the Archbishop had spoken to him on that subject.

I do not personally know that Sir George and the Archbishop had any conferences about the amnesty; but I have no doubt that they had, as that was the purpose of Archbishop Taché's visit there.

I myself had no discussion with the Government about it, nor do I know what their line of action was from anything I heard from them, except that they considered it a matter for the Imperial Government.

I did not enquire or hear anything from them as to the accuracy of Bishop Taché's statement about the amnesty.

Sir George told me he thought I had better not arrive before the troops, but that I had better be on hand immediately afterwards. There was a good deal of discussion as to my route. The Bishop asked me to go by the Lake of the Woods. I said I was willing provided I was met at the North-West Angle by a deputation from all classes of the people.

The Bishop's proposition was that the French Metis should meet me there and escort me, but I desired that both classes of Metis should meet me, that I might not enter the territory with one class or party only. Upon that, the Bishop said, "That should be done."

When I went up I therefore made for the North-West Angle, and went a day out of my way, but my guides under the charge of Mr. Pettier, were unable to find it, though we sailed a day on the lake in quest of it; landed on the shore; failed to find any trace of the expected escort; and thereupon we went on by Rat Portage and the Winnipeg.

We afterwards found that no escort had been sent.

We arrived about the 2nd September, perhaps a week after the troops.

On the following day I saw a number of leading people, including, I think, the Bishop, who told me of the amnesty, and that it was expected to precede or accompany me. I told him I knew nothing about it, and had no instructions on the subject. There is no question but that, whether rightfully or wrongfully, the people believed that there was to be an amnesty, and I was afterwards spoken to on the subject. I always told them that I had no instructions on the subject, but that whatever had been promised on the subject would undoubtedly be carried out. I understood that the knowledge of the people as to an amnesty came to them through the Archbishop, or through Father Ritchot, one of the delegates who returned.

The people were undoubtedly convinced that there was to be an amnesty. I was satisfied that the amnesty was a matter for the Imperial Government, and although, as I have said, I told the people and the Bishop that I had no instructions; I also stated to the Bishop my own impression that under all the circumstances of the case the logical conclusion seemed to be that there must be an amnesty. I could not form any conclusion as to whether or not the people would have taken a different line if they had not been satisfied that there was to be an amnesty. I always assured the people that any promise made by the Government of Canada would be performed, and I was cautious never to promise anything that I was not certain would be carried out.

I produce extracts from an address presented to me at St. Norbert, and from my answer to it, from which the point of view from which the amnesty was discussed, both by myself and the people, will be shewn.

(Translation.)

(No. 87.)

"To His Excellency the Honorable A. G. Archibald, Lieutenant Governor of Manitoba, &c., &c., &c.

"May it please Your Excellency to grant to us, inhabitants of the parish of St. Norbert, permission to offer you an expression of our respect and congratulations upon the occasion of your happy arrival in our midst. Most agreeable it would have been to us to have performed this duty at an earlier date, and also to have assisted the Representative of Her Majesty of our loyalty and devotion towards our Gracious Sovereign. At the time when we expected to experience that pleasure, even so deeply to be deplored took place, which postponed for a season the accomplishment of what we rightfully looked for, and which exposed to serious danger the interests and well-being of our country; but your wise and enlightened conduct has at last established among us peace, unity and happiness.

"The responsibility resting upon you is great, the situation a critical one; still, we trust that the wisdom of Your Excellency, aided by the co-operation of influential inhabitants of the Red River country, will direct public affairs in a manner satisfactory to all well disposed persons.

"We congratulate ourselves upon the good fortune which has procured for us this visit from you, and the honor which it brings to us. You have come, Your Excellency, to take up the reins of your new Government with a reputation fully established of being an honest and upright man.

"Your appearance here, if we may be permitted to say as much to Your Excellency, augurs well for the future. We are convinced that it is your heartfelt desire to reconcile those of varying opinions, to unite all citizens destined to form one and the same body politic, and of them to make a people worthy of occupying an honorable place in the family of nations. Your design is too noble, too praiseworthy, not to be assisted by the efforts of all who wish to secure the advancement, the prosperity, and the well-being of our new Province. There is nothing easier than for people, accustomed to be friendly towards one another, to forget and obliterate from memory the differences which may have given rise to the events which have just taken place in the country.

"Your Excellency may reckon on our sympathy. May you, in our new country, pass happy and peaceful days, enjoy good health, and see the Province entrusted to your care prosperous and flourishing.

"Your Excellency will, nevertheless, allow us to say that we must not conceal from you that an essential feature is still wanting; we, nevertheless, expect it with confidence, seeing that it has been promised us by men whose words were never spoken in vain. Your Excellency, in person, has assured us that all that has been guaranteed by treaty cannot but be granted."

*Reply.*

"To the Inhabitants of the Parish of St. Norbert:—

"GENTLEMEN,—I need hardly say to you that your kind address gives me the most lively satisfaction. You speak of the delay in presenting it, but I have reason to be glad of a delay which assures me I have conquered your good will. The address, delivered on my arrival, would have been but a compliment—it is now a certificate, I am pleased, indeed, that my conduct under circumstances of much difficulty, has been such as to command your approval, and, Gentlemen, I am happy to be able to say to you, that assurances of similar approval are daily reaching me from quarters where I least expected it—the approval of a policy which I propounded the first day of my entrance into the Province,—a policy from which I have not swerved for an instant from that day to this; a policy of good-will, of fair play, of justice to all. It has been

"my study in the past, it will be my study in the future, so far as I can, to put down the spirit of faction, to heal the wounds of the past, to treat you all as one people, estranged it is true, by the unhappy events of the past year, but yearning to resume the affectionate relations which become you as men, having in your veins the same blood, kindred by the ties of nature; relations which have hitherto been of the most close and intimate character, and which difference of language and creed have been powerless to sunder.

"With this policy inscribed on my banner, and with the assurance you give me of support from all who wish the good of this Province, I have not a doubt, that ere long, with the blessing of Providence, we shall all be willing to exchange the painful recollections of the past for the happier feelings which grow out of peace, progress, and prosperity.

"When that time comes, and I feel that it is not far off, it will be the desire of everybody, from the Queen on Her Throne to the humblest of Her subjects, to bury in oblivion much that is painful in the history of the past year. What shape this desire may assume, it is not for me to say—that belongs to Her Majesty's Imperial Servants, not to this Province or to Canada; but I cannot doubt that Her Majesty's policy will be one in accord with the honor of Her Crown, and the good of Her people."

I do not remember to have heard of any arrests by Colonel Wolseley's advanced guard. Warrants were issued and in the hands of constables before my arrival for the arrest of Riel, Lepine and O'Donoghue. I do not remember of anything being done after my arrival to execute these warrants or take any further proceedings.

I produce an extract from a letter from myself to Sir George Cartier, dated 3rd September, 1870, which shews my impressions at the time of my arrival.

(Extract.)

(No. 88.)

"3rd September, 1870.

"It is perhaps the best solution of the question that these men have taken to flight. Their presence here in the meantime would have been a source of incessant trouble. Warrants for the apprehension of the three men who have fled were applied for and obtained, and have been placed in the hands of constables. Of course, while feeling runs so high as it does at present, an attempt at arrest (if they had remained) would have been met by resistance, and in the end we would perhaps have had to call in the military, and we would have had a world of trouble, which the absence of these people enable us to escape. I do not know whether Bishop Taché will take the same view, but I hope he will. Nothing could be more adverse to the interests of even his own people than to create at this moment an excitement which would exasperate the feelings of last winter, and render a *rapprochement* of the two parties difficult, if not impracticable."

"Since I commenced this note I have seen separately two or three persons representing the English section of feeling here, and who I was led to believe were very violent. I am happy to say that after talking the matter over with them calmly, they left me in good temper, giving me their assurance that I should have their aid in endeavouring to suppress violence of any kind, and looking rather to the future than the past."

"If Bishop Taché will come out in the same line—and I learn by a note received from him since beginning this letter that he will call on me at 2 o'clock,—we should at all events begin auspiciously."

"P.S. Since writing this I have had a visit from Bishop Taché, who agrees with my views and I have great hopes that we shall be able to get fairly started soon."

I also produce an extract from my letter to the same, of the 10th of the same September:—

(No. 89.)

*Extract from letter to Sir George Cartier, dated September 10th, 1870.*

"I am very glad that I came in here by the lakes. If it had been otherwise it

"would have injured me very much with that part of the settlement, whose violence it is at this moment of vast importance to be able to restrain."

"As it is I am happy to say that all the leaders of the English party, except Dr. Schultz and a few more of the most violent of them, are entirely of one mind with myself about the necessity of dealing with the question before us in a spirit of great forbearance, rather looking to the future than to the past, and as regards Schultz I sent for him, and put it to him, how much of the future prosperity of the country depended on the spirit in which the new institutions should be commenced, and since then I have not found any reason to complain that he has gone back on the assurances he gave me in the presence of Colonel Wolseley and others, to second my efforts to put down the rancorous feeling originating in the events of last winter."

"I have seen a good deal of Bishop Taché, who assured me of his support in the views I am acting on: but he is very nervous about the amnesty, and he is evidently fretting at the delay in what he thinks is sure to come. He says there is great uneasiness in the French population, and fears the consequences of any attempt to arrest the trio (Riel, O'Donoghue and Lepine), against whom warrants were procured before I arrived. I thought it right to press on him that the surest way to avoid any such collision, is that the parties should not be found within the jurisdiction. I have no doubt that any attempt to arrest would be met with a desperate resistance, which might involve a great many of the population, while so far as I can learn there is no disposition to proceed against any person but the three men who were considered in a peculiar manner to be chargeable with the death of Scott. I have explained to the Bishop that even if there were an amnesty to-morrow, it would not save these parties from possible attempts on their lives which might be attended with consequences as fatal as the attempt to arrest, and therefore under the present circumstances, in the interests of the community, in the interests of the French half-breeds, and in the interests of the parties themselves it would be better that they should not be found within the boundary."

The Bishop quite coincided with my view as mentioned in the latter extract, that it would be better that the chiefly implicated parties should remain out of the country, as in attempting to arrest them we should rekindle the flames of civil war. There were no means either of retaining them or trying them.

I think the Bishop expressed his willingness to assist in procuring their absence, and I think the great bulk of the people then, on every side, agreed that the best thing to be done would be for them to leave the country. There were constant addresses to me, on one side urging active steps, and on the other respecting the amnesty, and my efforts were always directed towards moderating the views of both parties.

I may mention that in consequence of the state of feeling, the difference of nationality and the exclusiveness as to places of residence, the English and French-speaking settlers had very little intercourse with each other. Things might be perfectly well known by one party of which the other might be entirely ignorant.

In writing as I did to Sir George, I desired to get a response from him respecting an amnesty, but I do not think I ever received a definite answer respecting it. I will produce what I received on that subject from Sir George, and also my correspondence with the Government or its members on the subject.

The proclamation of the 6th December was not, as I understood the matter, the basis of the expected amnesty. As the events complained of occurred after that date, I regarded the promises of which I heard from Bishop Taché and Father Ritchot as being that basis.

Father Ritchot said he had a written promise of amnesty, and at my request gave me, some months later, a copy of what he understood to be a promise, namely, Sir George Cartier's letter, which is before the Committee.

There was a great subsiding of feeling among the people within a few weeks after my arrival, in consequence of my reasoning with them, and assuring them that they should be justly and fairly dealt with. My appointing of magistrates from both parties also produced

a calming effect; so much so that magistrates who had suffered from the disturbances and had been active in urging severe measures themselves, afterwards refused to issue warrants.

The first difficulty that occurred in the Province after my arrival was in July, 1871, between the French half-breeds and the new immigrants on the subject of the allocation and appropriation of the lands. At one time this threatened to result in violence, but I ultimately succeeded in preventing it. At that time, so far as I could judge, Riel was not in the country. This matter, however, had no relation to the question of amnesty.

The next important event was the O'Donoghue Fenian raid.

In the interval the subject of amnesty was occasionally broached to myself, and some meetings were held expressing dissatisfaction that the amnesty was not granted.

During this interval also a feeling of sullenness and discontent prevailed among the French half-breeds, caused or stimulated by the difficulties about the lands at "La Rivière Aux Islets de Bois," and at "Point aux Chêne," at both of which places the lands which they desired to retain were encroached upon, and their feelings were wounded by the conduct of the immigrants.

I produce a memorandum prepared at the time shewing details of the occurrences at this time. This memorandum was made about the 5th to the 10th November, 1871:—

(No. 90.)

*Memorandum connected with Fenian Invasion of Manitoba in October, 1871.*

"To estimate fairly the facts connected with the invasion, it is necessary to form in the first instance a clear conception of the geographical position of the Province, and of the distribution of its population.

"The Assiniboine, as will be seen by the map, meets the Red River at right angles near Fort Garry. The fort is at the junction, on the north bank of the Assiniboine, and on the west of Red River. On Red River all the population south of the fort, and between it and the frontier, is French. All north of the fort is English. On the Assiniboine the population is English in the uppermost and in the lowermost parishes, but between the English above and the English below, the river is settled for twenty miles by French; they divide the English population into two unconnected sections. Due south from the French parishes on the Assiniboine, and just beyond the United States frontier, is the French settlement of St. Joseph, about thirty miles up the Pembina River. Between St. Joseph and the French settlement on the Assiniboine there is a direct road, so that the French half-breeds on the Assiniboine may communicate with the half-breeds beyond the frontier at St. Joseph, and through them with the United States, while our English population of 5,000, all told, are divided into two sections, and have no back-ground except the North Pole, and are flanked on one side by the western prairies; on the other by the lakes and morasses between Fort Garry and Collingwood.

"With this geographical position clearly understood, it is easy to conceive the condition of the Province, if, at the approach of winter, an enemy could make a lodgment on its soil, and draw to his standard half its population. On the two railroads building in 1871 across Minnesota, some thousands of laborers were employed. With the close of the season these men would be thrown out of work, and if the chance of plundering Fort Garry and Winnipeg were opened to them, the temptation would be irresistible.

"Let the invader once establish himself on our side; let him be joined by a few hundreds of our population, so as to give the raid an air of civil war, and with the multitudes of Fenians among the Irish operatives on the railroads, and with recruits from the dregs of the large American cities, it is obvious we would have had nothing matter to deal with. It became, therefore, my main object to present, if possible, a united front to the enemy. There were, of course, great difficulties in accomplishing that, as the events of the last two years had created great bitterness on both sides. The English recollected their sufferings and imprisonment, and loss of property, and wanted to punish their oppressors.



"With some (I cannot say how many) of the volunteers who went up, a desire to avenge the murder of Scott was one of the inducements to enlist. Some of them openly stated that they had taken a vow before leaving home to pay off all scores by shooting down any Frenchman that was in any way connected with that event. The great bulk of the French population having been, one way or other, concerned in the troubles, the feelings gradually grew to be one of intense dislike towards the whole race, which was heartily reciprocated by the French.

"When the volunteers came to be disbanded, and were thus freed from all restraint, the hatred of the two classes exhibited itself more and more. Some of the immigrants from Ontario shared the feelings of the disbanded volunteers, and acted in concert with them. A body of French half-breeds had made a selection of a tract of land at *Riviere aux Islets de Bois*; some of them had made farms, or at all events enclosures, at that place. There was abundance of land elsewhere equally good, but the new-comers preferred this spot. They entered on the ground and staked it off; put up huts, and declared they would hold it against all comers. To give character to their occupation, they discarded the name by which the river had been known, and called it the *Boyne*. Of course the half-breeds were enraged, they thought it bad enough to lose land they believed to be theirs, but in the new name they saw something worse—an insult to their religion. They seemed to think that property, race, and creed were all to be trodden under foot, unless they took care of themselves. They met in their parishes on the Assiniboine and Red River, and determined to march to the settlement and drive off the intruders. Fortunately I heard of their intentions.

"I sent for some leading men among them, and warned them that if they lifted a hand or struck a blow it was all over with them.

"The collision was arrested, but not without great risk. Had blood been shed on that occasion we should have had a civil war in which every French half-breed would have been an active participator; while from the English half-breeds, in accord on the question of property with the French, neutrality was the utmost that could have been counted on, and at this moment we had a garrison of only 80 men to defend all our military stores at Fort Garry, and to preserve the peace of half a continent besides.

"The danger was over for the moment, but the feelings of sullen discontent remained. This was in July. In October came the raid. It was predicated on the discontents known to prevail among the French half-breeds.

"The leader of the raid had been a member of the Provisional Government; the other members of that Government were in the Province, outlawed for their offences, abused by one press and thrown over by the other, and yet exercising a large influence among the population of their own race and creed. Under these circumstances the chances were that the French would join the enemy. I had a tough battle to fight.

"For a fortnight I laboured unremittingly with the French clergy and with the representatives of the French parishes in the Assembly. I pointed out, as well as I could, the advantages in one line, the danger and ruin in the other.

"At last my remonstrances and persuasion began to take effect. The clergy assisted me in the movement. The colleagues of O'Donoghue in the Provisional Government, on whom he had counted, begun to come out against him. Riel went into the French settlements and used his influence against O'Donoghue. These two men are said never to have been very friendly.

"O'Donoghue was always a Fenian, an annexationist; Riel was neither, his feelings were those of a Frenchman and a Catholic. He could see a chance for his race and creed in the Dominion where a large part of the population is French. The clergy, who were of the same race, naturally shared his feelings in this respect; and they felt more inclined to side with Riel, one of themselves, than with O'Donoghue, who differed from them in race, and, as a Fenian, was not necessarily a good Catholic.

"With these influences operating on the French side, their sullenness and resentment were gradually overcome, and they were brought to take a stand in favor of the Crown. My letter of the 13th October at the close of the raid, addressed to the people of Manitoba,

" details the progress of events. There are many things stated above which, of course, I could not say in that document.

" The chiefs of the raiders were captured on Thursday the 5th October. On Friday evening intelligence of this reached me. With the news of the capture came a report from the front that the attack on the Hudson's Bay Company's post was only a feint.

" The Pembina people alleged that the real attack was to be from St. Joseph, and the body of the Fenians were said to be massed there. Our troops left Fort Garry for the front on Friday. On Saturday they encamped nine miles out at "Rivière Sâle" in the Village of St. Norbert. This is Father Ritchot's parish.

" Here, after pitching their tents, Major Irvine found out that he could not safely remain as he was afraid of his own men committing an outrage for which he thought he saw them making preparation. The moment he was aware of the danger he ordered his men to strike their tents and march three miles further on. There, on the night of Saturday, he received letters from the front which convinced him there was to be a renewal of the raid on the next day. At 3-30 on Sunday morning he wrote me to that effect, and urged me to send, without delay, an additional force of 150 men, and provisions.

" He enclosed me letters from the front, one of which was from our Deputy Collector of Customs, at the frontier, and another from the Hudson's Bay officer in charge of the Pembina Post. These men were in the best position to know the truth, and they seemed to have no doubt that a raid was coming off at once.

" Irvine's letter assured me that the French half-breeds in the neighbourhood of his camp were under the same impression. Meanwhile to supply the place of the Service Militia sent to the front, the fort was garrisoned by raw recruits drawn from the neighbourhood. Within 24 hours from the time they entered the fort, some one among them, in sympathy with the Fenians, had spiked one of the best of our guns.

" The people of Winnipeg were in great alarm.

" When the news from the front arrived on Sunday and became known in town, the alarm was increased.

" A number of Irishmen living in the villages around, suspected of Fenianism were arrested by self-constituted policemen without complaints or warrants. The neighbourhood was in a state of consternation. I did not consider the affair quite so serious. Major Irvine's letter reached me before daybreak. I sent him immediately a reply pointing out the improbabilities in the reports; the almost impossibility of any renewal of the raid under the circumstances, and the slenderness of the foundations upon which our men at the front had based their reports. I mention the state of feeling only to shew what was the belief on Sunday among the English as well as the French. It is said that the French did not declare themselves until they knew that all danger was over. It was over undoubtedly on Sunday, but the English who had the best means of learning the facts did not think so. Our scouts were on the road bringing news every six hours. I have detailed the news as it came. Can it be supposed that the French half-breeds scattered over their villages all along the Red River, and up the Assiniboine were in a better position to know the truth than we were? It was in this state of public feeling that the Speaker and the Hon. Mr. Girard came across the river to tell me that there were 200 French half-breeds at St. Boniface ready to offer their services and to ask where I would receive them.

" I would of course have preferred their coming to the fort, but, with the feverish excitement then existing, it was a risk to allow them to come over among the men that were there.

" A stray bullet would have undone the work which I had been laboring at for weeks, and which was now culminating in a united front presented to the enemy. I therefore went over and took with me Captain Macdonald, then in command of the fort in Irvine's absence.

" I found the half-breeds drawn up in line. After a tender of their services, through Mr. Girard, and my acceptance of the same, Mr. Girard came up to me with a person by his side, saying, "This is the captain the French half-breeds have chosen to lead them.

"He presented in the same way some four or five others. I shook hands with them all. I did not at the moment suppose either of them to be Riel. Captain Macdonald did not at the time believe Riel was there. But I lay no stress on this. It did not seem to me that it was quite the time, when the country was in danger, to inquire into the antecedents or spurn the offer of any man willing to fight against the Fenians. The whole thing was over in fifteen minutes." On looking back I see nothing in the course I took that gives me any doubt as to its correctness. I would take it again under the like circumstances. If the Dominion have at this moment the Province to defend, and not one to conquer, they owe it to the policy of forbearance. If I had driven the French half-breeds into the hands of the enemy; if I had shut the door to repentance and prevented them returning to a loyal submission to the Sovereign, O'Donoghue would have been joined by all the population between the Assiniboine and the frontier; Fort Garry would have passed into the hands of an armed mob, and the English settlers to the north of the Assiniboine would have suffered horrors it makes me shudder to contemplate.

"As things turned out, we presented externally a good aspect, better indeed than when the curtain is drawn aside and the whole truth displayed. The demonstration outwardly was, so far as Fenianism or annexation was concerned, that of a united people. O'Donoghue, looking at the past, and at his reception by the French, had little encouragement to plan another raid.

"Meanwhile the trial of a few of the men he had led, and the conviction and sentence of one of them, did good service by showing the half-breeds that playing at treason was a dangerous game. They were taught that for things that might have been overlooked in times of trouble and danger, there was no excuse under a settled and established government. A year or two of quiet, with such immigration as we were likely to have was then all that was required to place the Province beyond the reach of danger.

"The English element is inevitably destined to prevail in Manitoba.

"Immigration will fill it with an English-speaking people; but for this, peace and good order are to be first requisites: with these the future of the country is assured."

When conducting the negotiations with Father Ritchot in connection with the Fenian raid, I received the letter from Father Ritchot, dated 4th October, 1871. (See page 90.)

This came about thus. Father Ritchot said it was impossible for the Metis to take the line I wished, because many of them were connected with the troubles; no amnesty had been granted, and they could not come out without danger of being arrested. After this the letter was written, and I answered it by my letter of 5th October. (See page 91.)

(No. 92.)

#### "PROCLAMATION.

"To Our loving subjects of the Province of Manitoba, —*Greeting* :

"Whereas, intelligence has just been received from trustworthy sources, that a band of lawless men, calling themselves Fenians, have assembled on the Frontier Line of the United States, at or near Pembina, and that they intend to make a raid into this Province from a country with which We are at peace, and to commit acts of depredation, pillage and robbery and other outrages upon the persons and property of Our loving subjects, the inhabitants of this Province. While not unprepared to meet the emergency with Our regular forces, We do hereby warn all Our said loving subjects to put themselves in readiness at once to assist in repelling this outrage upon their hearths and homes. We enjoin them immediately to assemble in their respective parishes and enroll themselves for this purpose. We call upon all Our said loving subjects, irrespective of race or religion, or of past local differences, to rally round the flag of Our common country. We enjoin them to select the best men of each locality to be officers, whom We shall duly authorize and commission, and We enjoin the officers so selected, to put themselves in immediate communication with the Lieutenant-Governor of Our said Province. We shall take care that persons possessed of military skill and experience

"shall be detailed to teach the necessary drill and discipline. All officers and men when called into service shall receive the pay and allowances given to the Regular Militia. The country need feel no alarm. We are quite able to repel these outlaws, if they were numerous. The handful of them who threaten Us, can give no serious difficulty to brave men who have their homes and families to defend. Rally, then, at once! We rely upon the prompt response of all Our people of every origin, to this, Our call.

"In testimony whereof, We have caused these Our letters to be made patent, and the Great Seal of Manitoba to be hereunto affixed.

"Witness Our trusty and well-beloved, the Honorable Adams George Archibald, Lieutenant-Governor of Our Province of Manitoba, Member of Our Privy Council for Canada, &c., &c., at Our Government House at Fort Garry, this 5th day of October, in the year of Our Lord one thousand eight hundred and seventy-one, and in the thirty-fifth year of Our Reign.

"By Command.

"THOS. HOWARD,  
"Provincial Secretary."

I produce copy of letter from Major Irvine, dated October 5th.

(No. 93.)

(Copy.)

"CAMP ST. NORBERT,  
"October 5th, 1871.

"SIR,—I have the honor to report that having proceeded some four miles on the Pembina road, I encamped for the night near the residence of the Honorable J. Hamelin. Little further news than what we had heard before leaving the fort, was to be gained. The French half-breeds held a meeting in favour of aiding the Government, which I am told was most enthusiastic. We started for this place at eight o'clock this morning, reaching here a little before eleven, and as I have no report from the front, since last evening, I shall remain here until information arrives upon which I can rely.

"I may add that in reference to military arrangements at Fort Garry, that I consider that the two companies under Captain Smith and Captain Pettier will be a sufficient guard for the fort at present; the companies at Poplar Point and at St. Andrew's remaining at their head-quarters.

"I cannot say what my next move will be, till I hear from the front.

"On receiving any intelligence I shall communicate with Your Excellency immediately.

"I have, &c.,

"(Signed),

A. G. IRVINE,

"Major.

"P. S.—I desire to mention that all the inhabitants on the road have been most ready in rendering us all the aid and assistance we have required of them, especially Mr. Hamelin, who put his house and stables at our disposal last night.

"ST. NORBERT, 3.30 P.M.

"2nd P.S.—Mr. Bradley, who has just arrived from Pembina, informs me that Col. Wheaton holds O'Donoghue and the other Fenian leaders prisoners at Fort Pembina, and that all their followers have crossed over to the American side.

"I shall remain here till I hear from Your Excellency, whether I had not better return to Fort Garry, as it is now reported that there are no longer any Fenians in the Province.

"(Signed),

A. G. IRVINE,

"Major."

As to the impression prevailing among the people that there was to be a renewed raid, I produce Irvine's letter of 8th October, 1871, which is as follows:—

(No. 94.)

(Copy.)

" CAMP ST. NORBERT,

" 3.30 A.M., Sunday Morning,

" 8th October, 1871.

" SIR,—I enclose reports just arrived from the front. There is no doubt the Fenians intend making a raid between this and to-morrow night. I will move on in the morning. I shall require reinforcement *at once*; 150 men; as many drilled men as possible under command of Mr. Bedron, of the jail, he being the most competent man to command that I know of.

" Captain Macdonald will have to remain at Fort Garry. No time to be lost in sending the reinforcements forward with provisions.

" I have, &c.,

" (Signed,)

A. G. IRVINE,

" Major."

I also produce copies of the enclosures in Major Irvine's letter of October 8th, 1871:—

(Copy.)

(No. 95.)

" PEMBINA,

" 5th October, 1871.

" Hon. D. A. Smith,

" Fort Garry.

" DEAR SIR,—This place was this morning, at 7.30, taken possession of by O'Donoghue, O'Neil, Donnelly and Curley, who had thirty-five men along as followers. They were driven out by Colonel Wheaton of the U.S. Army. He captured O'Neil, Donnelly and Curley with ten of their men, also all their ammunition and arms; at least what they did not carry off with them. O'Donoghue left his cloak and overcoat, and since his flight from the fort has been captured by some of the half-breeds on this side of the line. He has not been taken here, but one of them has gone to Colonel Wheaton to see if he will take him for security. If he does not take him I will try and get the half-breeds to take him to Fort Garry. The French half-breeds of Pembina deserve credit for their prompt action in the affair. Send us help and we will get enough together here to make a good fight.

" My life is said to be in danger because I tried to lock the door on O'Donoghue when I saw the troops close.

" Yours truly,

" (Signed,)

W. H. WATT."

(Copy.)

(No. 96.)

" NORTH PEMBINA,

" 7th October, 1871.

" SIR,—Bands of men and numbers of strangers from St. Paul and elsewhere are passing and repassing this place and all over; very suspicious looking characters; they are very inquisitive as to essentials. The baker's boy has just brought me some bread, and says that the four officers dined at Robinson's Hotel to-day, after which they returned to Court, where they are being tried by the civil authorities. They had no military escort, but were with the Deputy Marshal. This boy says that there are several hundred Fenians around here. Fulthorpe Hill, Griggs & Co's. clerk at Pembina says, that the trial may be continued during to-morrow, and after that the probability is that the four officers will be liberated on giving cash bonds for their future

"behaviour, which will not deter them from making another raid. I believe a strong raid is *imminent* very very soon, as they are in anticipation that troops will be forwarded at once from Canada to meet them, so that time is everything. Mr. Hill is of opinion that a strong guard had better be forwarded and stationed here at once. There appears unusual commotion all over.

"Hurry! hurry!! an attempt will be made on Fort Garry, and especially if successful here.

"The half-breeds and Indians here appear to be loyal, and only want strong support to make them active and efficient soldiers.

"(Signed,)

P. B. DOUGLAS,

"(Customs) Pembina.

"P. S.—I have just forwarded a letter to Col. Wheaton informing him of the extreme activity at St. Matt's, and requesting his protection to our people if in his power until the arrival of our troops, as we disbanded our's at his wish at the Hudson's Bay post here.

"(Signed,)

P. B. DOUGLAS."

I wrote an answer to Major Irvine, dated 8th October, as follows:—

(No. 97.)

"GOVERNMENT HOUSE,

"8th October, 1871.

(Copy.)

"MY DEAR IRVINE,—I have just received your note of 3:30 this morning with the accompanying letters, containing reports as to Fenian excitement on the border. The letters of Mr. Douglas and Mr. Watt are evidently written under great excitement: one part of the letter of each contradicts another part of the same letter; and no authority is given for what seems an absurd statement of 500 Fenians being on the border, except the declaration of a baker's boy to Mr. Douglas; while Watt thinks if he had six or seven disciplined men he could take care of himself.

"The proceedings at Pembina with the captives are evidently examinations before justices of the peace to get them out on bail. This is just the kind of thing which always follows the capture of Fenian Generals in a sympathizing town. But it is hardly possible to suppose that a raid, commencing with the capture of all the leaders and their stores, should be considered encouraging to further raids, or as an auspicious beginning.

"The United States troops have possession of the arms and ammunition which will not be bailed if the prisoners are, and we can hardly suppose that without these a raid is likely to be renewed with better chances of success.

"The report from Villiers and Hamilton will be here in a few days. Do you not think you ought to await this, before taking very decided action, upon rumours which seem to be so unreliable, or at all events have so little of authority to oppose to their improbability?

"Bedron has been sent for and will be here shortly. Macdonald will make every preparation to await next report from the front.

"I have &c.,

"(Signed,)

A. G. ARCHIBALD."

I also produce a copy of my letter to Major Irvine, of date October 9th, 1871:—

(No. 98.)

"GOVERNMENT HOUSE,

"FORT GARRY,

"9th October, 1871.

(Copy.)

"MY DEAR MAJOR IRVINE,—Captain Villiers is here with your letter of last evening. His report of the state of things at Pembina accords exactly with what I expected to find. The proceedings before the judge are for a violation of the Neutrality Act.

"They are the same class of proceedings which followed the surrender of the Fenian prisoners at Malone, when O'Niel was one of the number.

"I quite agree with you, that if any further raid takes place it will probably be on the side of St. Joseph and the Portage. With your scouts and mounted men you can watch that line, so as to be able to throw a body of men to the support of any point attacked.

"I quite approve of your view of retiring to Fort Garry with your men.

"In reference to the idea of sending forward a body of men to garrison the Hudson's Bay Company's post at Pembina, as urged by Mr. Hamilton, we could not well do that after Colonel Wheaton desiring Mr. Bradley to disband the men he was engaging for its defence, unless we are prepared to quarrel with the United States authorities. It seems to me that this act on the part of Colonel Wheaton is equivalent to making the United States responsible for the protection of the post.

"With that state of facts, it does not seem to me there would be any improvement in taking upon ourselves a responsibility for which we would have to contend, and which Colonel Wheaton is willing to assume.

"Retiring on Fort Garry, you will be in a position to watch the points of attack.

"The French half-breeds met to the number of 200 able-bodied men (50 mounted), to-day, at St. Boniface, and tendered their services."

"We shall take twenty-five of them as mounted men to add to another twenty-five from White Horse Plains, the whole to be under the command of Paschal Brelan as captain, and Charles Nolin as lieutenant, to act as scouts, which you can direct from the centre.

"I have, &c.,

"(Signed),

A. G. ARCHIBALD."

I am perfectly satisfied that the prevailing impression, as well among the French as among the English, was, that there was to be a fresh raid, and that the action of the French was not based on the idea that the affair was over, but on the idea that the difficulty still continued.

I took great pains to ascertain whether Riel was sincerely acting in the interest of the Government, or was really siding with the invaders.

The enquiry was as well before as after the invasion. Father Ritchot had informed me that everything was going on satisfactorily, but I desired to inform my mind from different and independent sources. There were a number of French who never sided with, and were never personal friends of Riel, and I got information from these to the effect that Riel attended a meeting at White Horse Plains, about a week before the invasion, and did his best to induce the people to turn out and join the Government; that nothing was decided at that meeting, but that two or three days afterwards a meeting was held at the same place, at which Riel took the same view; that then there was an arrangement that all should meet at St. Vital on the next day, 4th October; that they did then meet, and then Riel took the same line, and it was finally decided by all but two of the meeting that they would join the Government and come out.

The two refusing had been assaulted at Winnipeg, and it was with them a personal matter.

My informant stated that Riel's representations had great influence in producing this result.

After the affair was over, I took pains to ascertain from every quarter the real truth in the matter. I wanted to satisfy myself whether they had acted sincerely or not.

I came to the conclusion, as I am convinced, that they believed the raid was not over, and did act sincerely, taking their share of the risk of the invasion; though I told them that, as I thought, they had made a great mistake in hesitating so long, as the delay had deprived the affair of its gracefulness.

I received a letter from Riel, Lepine and Parenteau, dated 7th October, 1871, which I produce, as follows:—

(No. 99.)

(Translation.)

"ST. VITAL, 7th October, 1871.

"MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY,—We have the honor of informing you that we highly appreciate what Your Excellency has been pleased to communicate to the Reverend, Mr. Ritchot, in order that we might be better able to assist the people, in the exceptional position they have been placed in, to answer your appeal. As several trustworthy persons have been requested to inform you, the answer of the Metis has been that of faithful subjects. Several companies have already been organized, and others are in process of formation.

"Your Excellency may rest assured that, without being enthusiastic, we have been devoted.

"So long as our services continue to be required, you may rely on us.

"We have the honor,

"&c., &c., &c.,

"(Signed,) "

LOUIS RIEL

"A. D. LEPINE.

his

"PIERRE x PARENTEAU.

mark.

"To the Hon.

"Adams G. Archibald,

"Lieutenant-Governor of Manitoba."

COMMITTEE ROOM,  
16th May, 1874.

Lieutenant-Governor Archibald's evidence continued :—

This letter was answered by my secretary in a letter bearing date the 8th October, but which I think should have been dated the 7th, as I believe that was the day on which it was written. (See letter No. 70, page 91.)

I also produce proclamation dated 13th October, 1871 :—

(No. 99a.)

## "PROCLAMATION.

"To the people of the Province of Manitoba :—

"In the name of the Queen, I thank you, one and all, for the promptitude and spirit with which you have rushed to the defence of the country, when called by Her Majesty's Proclamation.

"From the moment when the rumors of a Fenian raid assumed a character to be relied upon, my great anxiety was, that our people, irrespectively of past differences, should present a united front to the band of miscreants—the scum of the cities of the United States—who were collecting on our border for purposes of plunder, robbery and murder.

"I had the best reason to know that the plans of the marauders were based on the belief that there were divisions in your ranks which would drive a part of the population into their arms.

"O'Donoghue, one of the leaders of the gang, assured his companions that, on their arrival at the frontier, they would be joined by a party of our people disaffected to the Crown, and ready to aid any invasion.

"The events of the last few days have repelled this slander. At this moment, our whole population has assumed an attitude which affords no encouragement to these dastardly marauders.

"On Tuesday, the 3rd inst., information reached me, that left no doubt of a raid being at hand.



" On Wednesday, I issued a proclamation, calling upon you to assemble and enroll in your various parishes. Copies were distributed all over the Province, and by the evening of Thursday, the people of every English parish had met, had made up, and sent to me lists shewing 1,000 men ready at a moment's warning to shoulder their muskets and march to the front.

" In the French parishes meetings were also held, and by the same evening I was assured, upon unquestionable authority, that my proclamation would meet with loyal response. I suggested that it should be such as to admit of no misinterpretation, and received the assurance that it would assume a shape entirely satisfactory.

" The reports from the front on Thursday left no doubt that the raid was to commence at once, and next day orders were given to advance a body of troops towards the frontier.

" Major Irvine detailed, with that view, the bulk of the Service Companies in the Fort, two of those organized at Winnipeg under Captains Mulvey and Kennedy, and a Company of Canadians and half-breed French under Captain de Plainval.

" In two hours from the issue of the order, two hundred men, with their accoutrements, camp equipage and munitions of war, were across the Assiniboine en route for the frontier. The movement was executed in a manner that reflects the highest credit on Major Irvine, the officers of the different corps, and the men.

" The march was continued till events occurred to render further advance unnecessary. On Thursday, about noon, Colonel Wheaton, of the U. S. forces, stationed at Pembina, with a loyal discharge of international duties, honorable alike to himself and to his country, attacked and dispersed the raiders as they were crossing the frontier, making prisoners of their self-styled generals, and a number of the privates.

" O'Donoghue escaped to this side of the line, but was arrested in the course of the evening by some French half-breeds. During the night, under a mistaken view of what was best to be done, he was taken to the frontier and placed in the same custody as the other prisoners, by parties who acted very naturally under the circumstances, but still, in a way to be regretted.

" Meanwhile, the French parishes were completing the arrangements which I had been assured were in contemplation. On the afternoon of the 8th inst., about 4 o'clock, Mr. Royal, the Speaker of the Assembly; Mr. Girard, the Provincial Treasurer, and several other of the Representatives of the French parishes, waited on me to say that a body of French half-breeds were assembled on the east bank of the Red River, and wished to be permitted to assure me personally of their loyalty, and to proffer their services as soldiers. I went over immediately, in company with Capt. McDonald, the commander at Fort Garry in Major Irvine's absence. I found assembled on the bank 200 able-bodied French Metis; of these 50 were mounted, and a considerable part of the whole body had fire-arms.

" They received me with a *feu de joie*.

" Mr. Girard then, in the name of the men assembled—in the name of the French Metis of all the parishes—expressed, amid loud cheers and much enthusiasm, the loyalty and devotion of the Metis of every origin; and assured me they had rallied to the support of the Crown, and were prepared to do their duty as loyal subjects in repelling any raid that might now, or hereafter, be made on the country.

" I thanked the people very cordially for the assurances given in their name, and told them I should take care to make this demonstration of their feelings known to His Excellency the Governor General.

" If among these people there were—and I believe there were—some persons whose exceptional position might have led O'Donoghue to look for their support, it only adds to the value of the demonstration, and removes the last hope of the miscreants who have invaded your soil, that they would receive sympathy or aid from any class of the population.

" On Monday the troops returned to the Fort, and the volunteers from Winnipeg were allowed to go to their homes and resume their occupations.

"I regret to have to inform you that on the same day, the United States civil authorities at Pembina, to whom Colonel Wheaton was obliged to hand over his prisoners, discharged these marauders, for reasons which I am unable to comprehend, and that one of them, O'Donoghue, still remains in the neighborhood of Pembina, awaiting an opportunity of renewing the attack. Nevertheless, the raid for the moment is over. If renewed it will not be immediately. If the Fenians were men actuated by ordinary reason it would never be renewed; but they are not—they will trade, while they can, upon the simplicity of their dupes, and hope by excitement to replenish their exhausted exchequer. There is nothing in the wickedness or folly of any scheme to prevent their attempting it.

"Rest assured I shall watch over your safety. Should danger come, you will be appealed to again, and you will respond like men of courage, of loyalty, of patriotism.

"The Queen relies upon the fidelity of her people of this Province, of every origin.

"ADAM G. ARCHIBALD.

"Lieutenant-Governor."

I produce copies of correspondence with Sir George Cartier, consisting of a letter from myself to Sir George, dated the 14th October, 1870, as follows:—

(No. 100.)

*Extract from letter of Governor Archibald to Sir George Cartier.*

"14th October, 1870.

"As regards the amnesty, Bishop Taché seems to attach great importance to it; but after all I am inclined to think he feels it more as a personal than as a public affair. He has made promises which are not fulfilled, and he feels that his personal honor is to some extent involved.

"Practically, it is of little consequence. Nobody seems disposed to trouble any man except Riel, O'Donoghue and Lepine, all three of whom have left the settlement and are practically amnestied, except so far as the liberty of coming into the settlement is concerned; and that is a liberty which, in the public interests, it would be injurious for them to have at this moment. Even if they were amnestied they ought not to come in for some considerable time, till the feeling about them blows over. Their presence here would be a continuous temptation to outrage, and nobody could say when a thing of the kind would quit if once begun. Their own interests therefore, and the interests of the whole Province alike, concur in keeping them away in the meantime, and for that reason I have declared in such a way as that no secret will be made of it, that my police will execute any warrant that is placed in my hands, perfectly regardless of who may be the party named in it.

"I am inclined to think that this announcement has had something to do with the departure of these people.

"Whether or not, I learn as a fact that O'Donoghue has gone on to St. Paul's and probably to New York, and that Riel has, with his mother, moved away to some place several days journey south of the United States Boundary Line."

I also produce one from Sir George to me, dated 2nd Nov., 1870, which is the only one I can find, and which I think is the only letter I received from him on the subject. At all events it goes as far as any I have received from him on the subject. I think this letter closed my correspondence with the Government of Canada about the amnesty, though it is probable that I alluded in other letters to the anxiety which was felt in the Province on the subject of the amnesty.

(No. 101.)

*Extract from Sir George Cartier's letter to Lieut. Governor Archibald, of date 2nd November, 1870.*

"2nd November, 1870.

"I need not tell you that everything you have done meets entirely my views and those of my colleagues.

"I have but little time to write you to-day, so you will excuse the haste and shortness of this letter. Mr. Royal will be the bearer of it. I have written to Bishop Taché on the delicate subject of the amnesty. I tell him that with patience and moderation in the leaders of the French half-breeds, everything is sure to turn out right in the end."

I also produce an extract from a letter from Sir John A. Macdonald, dated 1st November, 1870.

(No. 102.)

*Sir John A. Macdonald to Governor Archibald.*

"1st Nov., 1870.

"Your course up to this time, marked as it has been with prudence and discretion, has made a very pleasing impression on the minds of the people here generally, and I have no doubt that as you acquire experience in the ways of the wayward people surrounding you, you will find your position both an easy and a pleasant one. We do not know here exactly the state of feeling that exists at Fort Garry as to the amnesty. In Canada proper the public mind is very sensitive about it. The French Canadians have identified themselves a good deal in sentiment, with their compatriots, and the Protestants, on the other hand, would view with intense dislike any amnesty which would shelter or protect those connected with the murder of Scott.

"Were it not for that unhappy event all parties would, I think, acquiesce in the propriety of letting by-gones be by-gones, and an amnesty for the political offences would not be seriously objected to.

"Your plan, it seems to me, is to discourage any pressure for a declaration of a general amnesty, on the one hand, and at the same time to convey the assurance, verbally, that those who have only been guilty of taking up arms to keep out Mr. McDougall, and to obtain a constitution for the country, will not be molested.

"Time, the great curer of evils, will soon calm down the apprehensions of those engaged in the rising, and all will go well with you, especially if Riel and those directly implicated in Scott's death submit to a voluntary exile."

I feel quite sure that this is the only letter I ever received from Sir John A. Macdonald respecting the amnesty.

I think this correspondence completes all I can say up to the time of the Fenian raid.

Some time before the raid I heard rumours of Riel being in the Province, but on endeavouring to obtain information on the subject, I was unable to discover with certainty whether he was there or not, until shortly before the raid actually took place.

I had interviews besides those with Father Ritchot, with several of the clergy and a number of the loyal French—that is with those who were opposed to Riel—and with others of various parties, as to the feeling of the French half-breeds. I spoke with several as to that, and as to what Riel and Lepine were doing; amongst others with Mr. Paschal Brellan, a very influential half-breed, opposed to Riel; also to Mr. W. McKay, also a very influential man and very moderate, probably not a sympathiser with Riel; also with Mr. Hamelin, father of Riel's late opponent in Provencher, and, as I judged, not in sympathy with Riel; also with Mr. Dugas, Mr. Royal and Mr. Girard; also with Mr. Nolin who had been opposed to Riel.

I also gained information from my police.

The result of my enquiries was, that the French half-breeds were sullen and unwilling to move; and that Riel's disposition was favorable to the preservation of order, and of giving aid to the Government, and that he was exerting himself to that end. I do not remember having obtained any information at that time from any of those who had acted with Riel at the time of the insurrection.

I found from all my sources of information that Riel's influence with the French half-breeds was enormous, and I consider that their attitude and their coming forward in

aid of the Government was largely due to the persuasions and efforts of Riel, and that if he had acted differently they would either have remained neutral or would have been hostile to the Government.

I would remark that it is necessary for a just appreciation of the state of affairs in the Province, and the line of action adopted there, to know what the feelings of the majority of the people were with regard to the mode of dealing with those who had been engaged in the disturbances. In fact, the whole of the French half-breeds, and a majority of the English, regarded the leaders in those disturbances as patriots and heroes; and any Government which should attempt to treat them as criminals would be obliged virtually to disregard the principles of responsible Government. Whatever might be the views of other portions of the Dominion, nineteen out of twenty-four of the representatives of the people were in favor of a policy under which all classes were treated alike, without regard to their conduct at the time of the troubles; and it would have been impossible to retain even a semblance of responsible Government while acting in accordance with the views of a small minority of the representative body.

My views as to the course of conduct I felt it my duty to pursue, are detailed in a letter from myself to the Hon. Joseph Howe, dated 20th January, 1872, an extract of which I produce, as follows:—

(No. 103.)

*Lieut.-Governor Archibald to Hon. Joseph Howe.*

“20th January, 1872.

“I called the Houses together, sooner than I should otherwise have done, because I wished to afford the members an early opportunity of expressing their views on public affairs. You in Ottawa would naturally attach importance to the resolutions passed at the meetings organized by a small but noisy fraction of our people who wished me to dissolve the House.

“This I refused to do, but yielded to their wishes so far as to undertake to call an early session, and so afford the opportunity they sought to move resolutions of censure, either upon myself or upon my ministers.

“I took care when the House met that my speech should leave no chance to evade the question which has so exercised the people of Ontario.

“The paragraph touching the Fenian raid was framed on purpose to challenge criticism and elicit an unmistakable reply.

“You will see that the answer of each House, unanimously adopted, endorses my policy in emphatic terms.

“In neither Houses did the answer pass merely as a matter of courtesy. In both Houses the friends of the Government invited the opposition to express their opinion on any paragraph of the address that they might consider open to attack.

“In the Assembly a resolution was moved in amendment, not finding fault with anything contained in the speech, but censuring the Government for not having in the address referred to lands—matters in fact, with which the Local Legislatures have no right to deal. Even then, on an issue of their own choosing, which they had to go out of the speech to find, the opposition could muster only four votes to seventeen, while the various paragraphs of the speech were re-echoed by a unanimous vote, so that all the clamour of the opposition newspapers—all the violent agitation of discharged voyagers and soldiers have ended in giving in the only way in which the voice of the people can constitutionally be heard—a unanimous affirmation of the policy I have acted on.

“It seems to me that the people here must be allowed to be judges of how to manage their own affairs.

“At all events this must be so till they cease to possess representative institutions. If they are to be responsible to the people of other Provinces the members should be elected there. At all events one thing is clear, they should not be elected by the men to whom Parliament has given the franchise.

"If the other doctrine is sound it should be your business, in dealing with these men, to erect not hustings but gallows.

"You allow the electors to choose members, you allow the members to make and unmake Ministries, but electors and members are to exercise their functions with ropes around their necks. Was there ever before a responsible Ministry resting on a House, of whose constituents more than half were liable to be hanged or sent to the penitentiary? To hang all, or to hang a few to whom the rest are blindly devoted, is much the same thing so far as a responsible Ministry is concerned.

"If then you cannot punish without recalling constitutional Government, what use is there in keeping up the pretence of calling these people outlaws. In my view you have to choose between revoking responsible Government, and admitting that you cannot go back to inflict punishment for offences in which half the population were implicated, committed before responsible Government was conceded.

"Still I may be wrong. I have no wish that my opinions should go for more than they are worth.

"I can give you no better proof of that than I did in offering to remove any obstacle to the adoption of a different view.

"What I said in substance to you in my last, I afterwards put into formal shape and sent to the Premier.

"I did not act under any feeling of irritation, I had no motive other than the desire to have the Government free to take whatever line they thought best.

"If therefore the Government think it wise to adopt another policy, there is nothing to prevent them from entirely repudiating my actions.

"I am quite content to await the time when a healthier public opinion will take the place of the feverish excitement lately prevailing in some parts of the Dominion.

"Meanwhile, let a different experiment be tried. At the end of a year of such a régime, it will be seen whether as proud a chronicle can be given of peace and progress as the one we have just recorded.

"I trust in God it may be so, but it seems to me that unless you expect to 'gather grapes of thorns or figs of thistles' you can hardly hope to carry on responsible Government by inflicting death penalties on the leaders of a majority of the electors.

"I have &c.,

"(Signed),

A. G. ARCHIBALD.

"Hon. J. Howe,

"&c., &c., &c."

The feeling of the people and of their representatives is exhibited by the addresses unanimously voted in both Houses in reply to my speech to the first session of the Legislature after the Fenian raid.

I produce a copy of the speech and of the address in reply.

(No. 104.)

*Extract from Lieut.-Governor Archibald's Speech.*

"16th January, 1872.

"Honorable Gentlemen of the Legislative Council—

"Gentlemen of the Legislative Assembly:

"I have reason to congratulate you on the attitude assumed by all classes of the people on the occasion of the recent Fenian raid.

"Your loyal response, irrespective of race and creed, to the call made upon you to rally round the flag of the Empire is a convincing proof of the soundness of the policy which, notwithstanding the troubles of the past, has aimed to treat you all as one people interested in a common country and sharers of a common destiny.

"That policy, uniting the whole people in support of the Throne, enables me to deal vigorously with offences committed since the official responsibilities of Canada commenced.

"The Government accept it as their paramount duty to preserve peace and maintain order in the Province."

(No. 105.)

*Extract from Address of Legislative Council of Manitoba in reply to Speech.*

"17th January, 1872.

"We feel that Your Excellency could have no more signal proof of the soundness of the policy of forbearance and fair play towards all classes of the people, than was afforded by the attitude of the whole population on the occasion of the recent Fenian raid.

"We rejoice to know that irrespective of race and creed they rallied to the flag of the Sovereign, and showed a spirit of patriotism and union becoming the owners of a common country and the sharers of a common destiny."

I believe that the action of the half-breeds at the time of the Fenian raid was attributable to the negotiations with their leaders which I have described, and if the half-breeds had taken a different course, I do not believe the Province would now be in our possession. I think I communicated these circumstances to the Government at Ottawa, and now produce copies of whatever correspondence I had with its members on that subject. But I did not receive any communication from that Government as to the mode of action adopted or to be adopted. I always kept the Government informed of what passed, but I received only occasional answers or comments in reply covering several of my letters in one answer.

After meeting the armed half-breeds I took 25 of them and 25 of those from St. François Xavier and used them as scouts for a short time. I asked Mr. Girard or Mr. Royal to send me them over but I do not know who selected them. So far as I know the main body dispersed after the meeting. I do not remember where next or when I again heard of Riel.

I have no knowledge of the proceedings at St. Norbert except from reports. I have seen the affidavit made by one Charette. I made it my business to ascertain the facts as to the statements contained in that affidavit, and after the most careful enquiry, I was convinced that those statements were untrue. I do not know Charette.

The correspondence with Father Ritchot was after the meeting which was on the 3rd November.

The Legislature met on the 16th of January, 1872, and prorogued on the 21st of February following.

During the session the Ontario Assembly took action on the subject of the death of Scott. This evoked a large amount of feeling, as well among the people as in the Assembly.

I produce an extract from my despatch, dated 24th February, 1872, to Sir George Cartier on this subject.

It represents the state of affairs as I ascertained them at the time.

(No. 106.)

*Extract from Letter to Sir George Cartier.*

"24th February, 1872.

"I have had a rather anxious time since the intelligence arrived of the rewards offered by Middlesex County Council and the Legislature of Ontario. Intense excitement prevailed for a while among the French half-breeds. On the point of blotting out the past, there is little or no division among them. Even those of them who did not side with Riel and the men of the movement, as they are called here, look upon the question of punishment of the offenders as one of race, and would consider an attempt of the kind on any of these people as an attack upon the whole. I had learned privately, through the instrumentality of the police, that immediately after the arrival

" of the telegraphic news, meetings were held in each French parish on the subject, and  
" that there was but one feeling among the people on the subject.

" They determined that the parties against whom the rewards were directed should  
" remain in the country, and that the people should protect them by an armed force  
" against any attempt to arrest them. I fear very much that had the attempt been made  
" it would have led to serious bloodshed. Happily the feelings of the great body of the  
" English people of this country have so changed that it is difficult to find a magistrate  
" who does not hesitate to issue warrants which may lead to fatal consequences; and  
" several Justices, who were themselves sufferers at the time of the troubles, and who a  
" year ago were urging all kinds of vindictive proceedings, have refused to issue warrants  
" now. I am not aware whether any warrant has actually been issued up to this moment.  
" The difficulty is not among the people of the country, but among the small band of  
" lawless men, idlers and roughs who infest the taverns of Winnipeg. These men have  
" no influence except for mischief, but they might light a flame it would be hard to  
" extinguish. For a few days I felt the danger was extreme. The only possible way to  
" avoid a serious outbreak was to get rid of the two men whose presence in the country  
" formed the pretext for the action of the roughs at Winnipeg.

" These men left the country last fall, and remained absent some time; they ought  
" not to have returned. But what can you do among a people who look upon the leaders  
" of 1869—70 as patriots and leaders? Still I brought influences to bear upon the half-  
" breeds, shewing them the utter folly and ruin which would result from defiance of the  
" law, or any attempt at armed resistance.

" I am glad to learn that these representations have not been without effect; the two  
" men who are the most obnoxious have left the country. So long as they remained,  
" they proved a standing nuisance to order. I could never tell the day or the hour some  
" frightful catastrophe might not occur.

" Mr. Donald Smith, when he goes down, will be able to explain to you the parti-  
" culars of the danger which I think is now averted; all the while, however, everything  
" externally has been going on with the utmost quiet.

" The two populations are so isolated from each other that little is known among the  
" English of what takes place among the French, or if known at all it comes in the  
" shape of rumour, so grossly exaggerated as to bear little resemblance to the truth."

I believe that the civil power could not have arrested Riel or Lepine at this time.  
By the assistance of the military they could no doubt have been taken at any time, but  
that would have undoubtedly provoked a civil war.

I cannot say which of us began the discussion, which took place between the Arch-  
bishop and myself, on the subject of Riel's withdrawal.

The Archbishop did not mention to me that the Ottawa Government were desirous  
that Riel and Lepine should withdraw.

I was surprised when I saw the other day in the newspapers that there had been a  
negotiation between the Archbishop and the Ottawa Government on the subject.

The Archbishop told me that money was necessary in order to their going; that  
they could not starve; and as the safety of the community required their departure, the  
community should pay for their subsistence.

He named, in the first instance, \$2,000. I said, "I have no money, and I have no  
" authority from the Government of Canada to take this action. It is in the interests of  
" the country, I think, but I cannot pledge the Government."

There was a long discussion. How Mr. Smith's name or that of the Hudson's Bay  
Company was introduced, I do not remember; but one or other of us suggested that the  
Company might advance it, and procure it afterwards from the Canadian Government.

Mr. Smith was sent for. He concurred in the view that it was necessary the men  
should be got out of the country.

Mr. Smith and I both had doubts whether the Government would ratify the matter,  
and one or other of us said to the other "If the Government of Canada repudiates our  
" action, each of us can be responsible for half."

My letter to Sir George, in which I refer to Mr. Smith, has regard to this transaction, an account of which I asked Mr. Smith to give to Sir George and Sir John.

There was a discussion between the Archbishop and myself as to the length of time for which Riel and Lepine were to stay away. It was quite understood they were to stay at least a year. I think it likely I named the time; I thought that a year's absence would soothe the feelings of the people, and give them time to devote themselves to their business affairs; while I felt that as long as they remained there was no hope of peace, and that it was perfect madness for Riel to present himself for Parliament.

I do not know that there was then anything said as to Riel standing for Parliament. I have repeatedly told the Archbishop that it was madness for him to stand; that he would be either expelled or shot, and if neither result happened, he would probably sink into insignificance as an ordinary Member.

Speaking from my own memory, I do not remember that anything passed as to excitement at the ensuing general elections, but that is quite likely.

I suggested that Riel should go away for four or five years and complete his education, and fit himself for public life: and that at the end of that time, if an amnesty had been promised (of which I could say nothing) he might return and take part in public affairs; and I suggested France, but Archbishop Taché said the sum was too small; and it was finally arranged that he should go some distance into the United States; not to hover on the frontier, and for this the Archbishop pledged himself as far as he could do so for the conduct of another.

I learned afterwards that he was at St. Joe, just across the frontier, and in effect in the nearest French settlement to the Province.

Afterwards he went to, and stayed some time, at St. Paul's.

He reappeared in the country some months after his departure, perhaps in June, and I heard of his being at St. Vital, his residence.

Some time after it was generally announced that he was to be a candidate for Provencher.

Mr. Clarke, the Attorney General, declared he would oppose him in the election. There were several election meetings in Provencher, at which both the candidates were present and took part in the discussion; and I believe that at one of these meetings Clarke challenged Riel to a duel.

From my enquiries I ascertained that the Attorney General had no chance of success, and that Riel would be almost unanimously elected.

The general feeling of the Province (save in the district of Lisgar) was favorable to Riel.

I was endeavoring to persuade the Archbishop and every one that it was fatal to elect Riel, but their want was a representative man, still I had to some extent succeeded in preparing their minds for this course, when Sir George's defeat was telegraphed.

It struck me at once that this afforded an opportunity of electing Sir George for Provencher.

I think I can produce the Archbishop's letter to me of 10th September, 1872, referred to in mine of the same date. (*See page 58 for Lieutenant-Governor Archibald's letter to Archbishop Taché, of date September 10th, 1874.*)

(No. 107.)

(Translation.)

*Archbishop Taché to Lieutenant Governor Archibald.*

"ST. BONIFACE,

"10th September, 1872.

"Your Excellency will allow me to remark that great discontent exists among those who have learnt that the nomination will take place on Saturday of this week,—and that public notice has not yet been given of it. Every one thinks that one Sunday should have intervened between the posting up of the notice and the nomination day;



"otherwise the bulk of the people will have no knowledge of it, and intentions will be imputed which have no real existence."

"I am somewhat surprised at receiving no tidings of the matter which we spoke about the other day."

"With profound respect,

"Your Excellency's most humble servant.

"(Signed,)

ALEXANDER,

Archbishop of St. Boniface."

I now produce copy of letter from me to Sir John A. Macdonald, dated 9th October, 1871. Also copy of letter from him to me, of date 18th of October, 1871, being the correspondence with the Government I have already referred to.

(No. 109.)

"GOVERNMENT HOUSE, MANITOBA,  
9th October, 1871.

"(Private and Confidential.)

"MY DEAR SIR JOHN,—You cannot conceive the worry and anxiety I have had for the last few days. I have already written you that my great object was to bridge over if possible, the gulf which divides the two large sections of the population—the task has been a hard one—on the one side the feelings of the French half-breeds were so excited not so much I believe by the dread about their land allotment as by the persistent ill-usage of such of them as have ventured from time to time into Winnipeg, from the disbanded volunteers and new comers who fill that town. Many of them actually have been so beaten and outraged that they feel as if they were living in a state of slavery. They say that the bitter hatred of these people is a yoke so intolerable that they would gladly escape it by any sacrifice.

"I have done my best to soothe their feelings, much of which is not justified by anything that has occurred.

"I have urged the utter folly on their part of playing the game of their enemies. I have assured them that all their just rights should be sacredly respected. I have urged the frightful disgrace to themselves of leaving it longer in doubt whether they were to support or oppose the Crown. I have argued that if the English succeed in putting down the troubles without their aid, it will destroy them as a people—that if by any chance, through their indifference the raid succeeded, it would equally be their destruction. At length they were induced to move. It was quite too late to be graceful, but not too late to be useful. The very day of the news of the dispersion of the raiders, but I believe before the news had reached them, they decided by a meeting of delegates from all the parishes to rally to the defence of the country. Their leaders represented to me that nothing could be done without the concurrence of the men who had led them in the troubles of 1869-70. That these men dare not show their faces in public for fear of arrest and imprisonment—that they could hardly be expected to exert themselves to put down the invasion while they did not know at any moment but they might be called upon to meet a criminal charge, and that unless I could say that while rallying the people to the support of the Crown, they should be safe from arrest, I could not expect them to move hand or foot. I was, therefore, obliged to say that 'pour la circonstance actuelle' they should not be arrested. On this the leaders set to work aided by the clergy and, in a day or two succeeded in getting the people of all the parishes into line. They now profess loyalty and devotion, and are ready to serve whenever they are required.

"The demonstration will be of incalculable service. My dread was of a civil war, that

" was what O'Donoghue hoped and tried to bring about. With assistance enough to gain a lodgment in the Province by a few men from without, the position would have been serious. Numbers of men employed on the Minnesota railroads would have rushed in here for plunder. The position of the country with no population to fall back upon, with little or no military force to oppose to marauders of whom many would be of those who had gone through the American wars, was certainly not very encouraging, particularly when all communication with the outside world would be closed to us for months.

" With the population we have, Fenianism by itself is a matter of small consequence; we could put it down at any time. Nothing could shew better what we could do than the fact that in two days the whole adult English population flew to arms.

" We could suppress such a raid without the aid of the French population, but once let a filibustering expedition secure the sympathies of one or two States, which it would be sure to do if it commenced successfully, and you would find the invasion, contemptible as it might be in itself, a very serious thing in its consequences.

" I think the course of the French half-breeds will put an end to any hopes that the raiders may have entertained. I wish it had been a little earlier.

" Unfortunately there is a frightful spirit of bigotry among a small but noisy section of our people. The main body of the people have no such feeling—they would be only too happy to return to the original state of good neighborhood with each other; but it is otherwise with the people I speak of, who really talk and seem to feel as if the French half-breeds should be wiped off the face of the globe.

" I believe that if we get through this trouble well, it will do great good in bringing about a better state of feeling. There seems to be growing in the different classes of the population a conviction that it is time to let by-gones be by-gones, and to look forward rather than backward.

" I need not add that the necessity for troops remains as before. Do not fail to send them on.

" Write in great haste. Am very uneasy, and am, I fear, not very lucid in my remarks.

" Believe me, &c.,

" (Signed)

A. G. ARCHIBALD.

" Sir John A. Macdonald."

(No. 110.)

*Extract from Letter from Sir John A. Macdonald.*

" 18th OCTOBER, 1871.

" We have received your several letters and telegrams respecting the Fenian invasion. It must be a very exciting time for you. It will, however, I think be productive of good in bringing out a loyal expression of feeling on the part of the inhabitants. The action of Colonel Wheaton seems to have put an end to the raid.

" I hope that the 200 men that we are sending up will get through comfortably; they will be a substantial addition to your garrison.

" Colonel Osborne Smith will arrive too late, I hope, to have anything to do in the warlike way; but, in his capacity, as temporary District Deputy Adjutant General, he can organize your militia companies.

" I must congratulate you on the terms of your proclamation. It is very well drawn and has given much satisfaction here.

" (Signed)

JOHN A. MACDONALD."

After the Fenian raid, at the close of the year 1871, the country was in a most satisfactory position.

I prepared a memorandum, which I published in the organ of the Government at Manitoba, which contains a full statement of matters in Manitoba, from my point of view, and I now produce it.

(No. 111.)

## " MANITOBA.

" THE HISTORY OF A YEAR.

" (*From the Manitoban.*)

" The year of 1871 has passed into the domain of history. It has everywhere been an eventful year. What changes has it not wrought on the face of the globe!

" On the continent of Europe, great victories on the one hand, great disasters on the other, have readjusted national boundaries, and redistributed national prestige. This continent has not been without its share of important events. Who would have ventured, last New Year's day, to predict that before another year came round, arrangements would be made for the peaceful solution of questions which have kept the two great branches of the British race for years on the very verge of war?

" The man who shall write the history of 1871 will have the material for a magnificent record. Gladly would we notice the events of the year, if it were only to glance at them—but we are deterred by the multiplicity and variety of the topics which compete for attention. Be ours the task—an humble, but not necessarily useless task, to review the year so far as our little Province is concerned. To the bulk of the outside world our affairs may be of little moment. To us who have made Manitoba our home—to those who purpose to make it their home,—it cannot but be interesting to know what progress a year has made in laying the foundations of Civil Government in the country, and paving the way for the prosperous future that awaits us.

" We shall begin with the time when the Lieutenant Governor landed at Fort Garry. This will comprise rather more than a year, but so little more, that up to the present moment we may assume to be dealing with the first year of Manitoba.

" Let us recall for a moment the excitement which existed at the period when our review commences. It was a time of universal uneasiness. We shall not refer to the events of 1869 and 1870, further than to say that they had left behind them memories of the most painful and irritating character, and that a large portion of the people felt that the time had come to exact a return in kind for the sufferings of which their memories supplied such vivid recollections.

" The excitement was still further increased by the presence of bands of roving Indians scattered up and down through the settlements. These savages drawn to the front by the prospects of war, had been appealed to for support, and from fear or recklessness, had received promises it was impossible to fulfil. They were hovering round the settlements in a state of starvation, living on pillage and making night hideous with their frightful orgies. The antagonism between the English and French races divided the country into two hostile camps—not only arrayed against each other, but subject to the danger of collision with the hungry and disappointed savages who were prowling about the settlements. This was not a state of things to be rashly dealt with. It required great tact, great courtesy, and great firmness to dispel the elements of danger and bring about a better state of affairs. To this task the Lieutenant Governor devoted himself. He sought to sooth the irritated passions of the two white races: he persuaded the Indians to return to their hunting grounds: gave them food to carry them there, and powder and shot to enable them to support themselves by hunting when there. Gradually, the seething excitement began to subside; and in the course of a few months, a feeling of safety and security dawned upon all classes, and our people, in the usual employments of peace, began to forget the troubles and turmoils through which they had passed.

" The establishment of a police force was one of the first requirements for the organization of stable Government. This was done as rapidly as the circumstances of the country permitted, and we may say of the police, which has now been organized for a year, that, first year though it be, and with all its shortcomings, it may fairly challenge comparison with that of older countries. For the last nine months, life and property in this Province has been as secure as in any Province in the Dominion.

"The next thing to be done towards organizing Civil Government was to obtain an accurate knowledge of the number and distribution of the people. Arrangements were made for that purpose. The census had to be taken under circumstances when it was all important not only that it should be done fairly, but that the returns should be above doubt or suspicion. The arrangements made were without precedent, as the result is beyond experience. Every return for every district is certified and attested by men enjoying the confidence of the most opposite sections of the population. An Englishman and a Frenchman, a Protestant and a Catholic, men of the most opposite political and religious sentiments, have united in signing each Census book, and swearing to its correctness. At this moment no man doubts the absolute correctness of the Census Returns; that the Census has been impartially and honestly taken.

"After this came the necessary preparations for the introduction of representative institutions. There was no election law in the country. A law had to be framed by the Lieutenant Governor under the provisions of the Act of Manitoba. The country was divided into twenty-four electoral divisions. The proceedings at the hustings were conducted by men, scarcely one of whom had ever seen an election; yet their duties were discharged in a manner that would have reflected credit on any country.

"When Parliament met, a code of laws was submitted and passed, laying broad the foundations of civil government; a code, which we may venture to say, will challenge comparison with the first year's work of any Legislature in the world.

"Already, we have had the experience of a twelve month under these laws, and it will be found when the Legislature meets again, that amendments, if any are required, will be in the way of extension and development. The simplicity of the original laws was intentional. They were framed to admit additions or enlargements without violence to the original fabric, and to receive such additions and enlargements as the circumstances of the country demanded them. Till this code was passed, crime could not be punished in the Province. Not that the court was without jurisdiction, but there was no power to convene a grand jury, and without a grand jury there could be no indictment. There was no authority to summon a petit jury, and without a petit jury there could be no trial. From the time, therefore, when the Governor arrived, till the third day of April, when this law passed, our tribunals had no power to punish. Offenders, to be sure, might be arrested; but they must have remained in prison or be let loose again on the community without conviction or punishment.

"Under the new law, the machinery of the court has been called into operation. The grand inquest has been convoked; juries summoned and impanelled, offenders indicted, tried, convicted and condemned. The astute lawyers who were engaged in the defence failed to find a single flaw in the machinery constructed to carry out the laws of the land.

"The only gaol existing in the country at the time of the Lieutenant Governor's arrival, he found occupied by the military as an hospital. Beside this, the old gaol had an inauspicious history—its doors had so often yielded to pressure from within, that it could hardly be looked upon as a place of safe custody. It was therefore necessary to provide other prisons.

"A police station was built at Winnipeg and a suitable stone building at the Lower Fort, hired from the Hudson's Bay Company, was repaired and remodelled to adapt it to the purposes of a gaol and Penitentiary.

"At the last meeting of the General Court the Grand Jury visited this prison and pronounced the highest eulogium on its condition and management.

"Next came the question of the Indians. We have seen the state of their feelings when they left the Settlement. The Lieutenant Governor had promised that they should be sent for when the Spring came round, and dealt with for their lands. They were summoned to meet at the Lower Fort. After a fortnight's tedious discussion, after the patience of everybody was exhausted, a solution was at length reached, and a treaty made which, while doing full justice to the Indians, at the same time provides for the cession of their rights upon terms which contrast very favorably with those contained in the treaties the Americans have made with the tribes across the frontier. It is something to

" have conducted this operation with two thousand savages, encamped for a fortnight in the midst of our population, and all this without disturbance or disorder of any kind, without a blow being struck, or even a glass of intoxicating liquor being consumed by a people whose craving for drink amounts to insanity.

" It may be possible that the police arrangements which established a cordon on every road, and permitted no intoxicating liquors to pass, were a little beyond the strict letter of the law, but it was worth while to strain a point to be able to place before the world the spectacle of a vast horde of savages, demeaning themselves for a fortnight with a decency and propriety which might well put our civilization to the blush.

" The Indians returned to their homes without committing the smallest depredation, even to the extent of taking a pole from a farmer's fence, or a potatoe from his field.

" A similar treaty was negotiated shortly afterwards at Lake Manitoba. Under the arrangements so made, a tract of land equal to four such Provinces as this has been thrown open for occupation and cultivation.

" When the Lieutenant-Governor came here there was no postal system in operation. Once a week our mails were carried to Pembina. We had to pay a fee on every letter sent there. We had also to frank our letters with American stamps, and to transmit them, subject to inspection at the American border by the people who throng the office at Pembina, many of whom had been connected with our troubles here in a way to make this inspection most undesirable. In a year all this has changed. Our mails are transmitted and received three times a week instead of once. They are carried in closed bags, sealed before they leave the territory of the Dominion, and kept sealed till they reach it again. They are carried, not as formerly, in a Red River cart, but in vehicles drawn by four horses, and driven at the rate of seven miles an hour. All over the country post offices have been established on a simple system, and there is not a cluster of houses in any part of the Province sufficiently compact to be called a settlement, where the mail is not, once a week at least, in many places twice a week, received with its welcome budget of letters and intelligence.

" A year ago there was neither Custom House nor Customs' officers to be found in the Province. The Act of Manitoba had continued the powers of the officials of the Hudson's Bay Company, but the men were either ignorant of or failed to discharge their duty. No entries were made—no duties collected. When it became desirable to ascertain, approximately, the extent of our importations, the Lieutenant-Governor was obliged to resort to the offices of a foreign country, and form his estimate from the entries for exportation made in the United States Custom House at Pembina. Mr. Spencer was sent here to organize the department, and under his able and efficient management the Customs have been put in perfect order.

" When he arrived, the authority of the Dominion officials to collect duties was denied; a leading trader from Montreal, gravely alleging that he had the best advice the bar of that city could furnish, deliberately refused to pay duties, and threatened resistance if any attempt was made to collect them. Mr. Spencer acted with vigor. Supported by the police authorities he seized the goods of the offender, and proceeded to deal with them according to law. One example was sufficient. From that hour to this no man has ventured to refuse, and Mr. Spencer's arrangements leave no chance to evade the payment of duties.

" Under a tariff of four per cent., \$40,000 have poured during the present year into the treasury of the Dominion. With the tariff what it will be on and after the 12th of May, 1873, the duties of this year would have more than doubled the sum allotted by the Act of Manitoba to the uses of this Province.

" A year ago there was not a line run or a Crown Land Surveyor to be found in the Province. The maps of the country were made from the crudest information. Its physical features were distorted—the lakes and rivers misplaced. Now the whole Province has been mapped off into blocks containing four townships each; the site of rivers and the lakes ascertained, the errors in the topography adjusted, and arrangements

" for the final subdivision into sections so far complete as to make the country ready for any amount of immigration in the coming year.

" The local management of the Crown domain has been placed in the charge of Mr. McMillen, and that gentleman has entered upon the business of his office with an energy and spirit which guarantee his fitness for the difficult and laborious duties incident to the position.

" The vast interior lying to our west has hitherto been open only to the dog train or the Red River cart. At this moment, within a few miles of where we write, may be seen the hulls of two steamers—one of which, in the early part of next season, will startle with its shrill whistle the wandering savages of Lake Manitoba: while the echoes of the other will reverberate from the winding banks of the Saskatchewan.

" The interior will hereafter be accessible without exposure and without toil, and the shrieks of the steamship along the great river of the West will herald a population that will spread itself along its banks and carry the arts of civilization and refinement to our western wilds.

" A year ago we were riven by intestine dissensions and angry feelings. Some of our people, few in number but noisy in demonstration—with little to lose and everything to gain from civil convulsions—did their best to inflame these dangerous passions. A band of lawless men speculated upon this state of things and invaded our territory, hoping that in the excitement of passion one-half our people would flock to their standard. The indignant uprising of a thousand Englishmen, ready to defend their country and their flag,—the united phalanx of the French Metis of all the parishes, avowing a determination to rally to the Crown, was the response these marauders received. We gave proof to the invaders and to the world that, differ as we might among ourselves on matters of minor moment, our hearts were right and our hands ready when duty called us to the defence of our common country.

" A year ago it took thirty days to receive from Ottawa a reply to a telegraphic message; now as many hours suffice.

" A year ago the nearest communication with the outside world was by way of St. Cloud. A dreary journey of 400 miles separated Fort Garry from the terminus of the railway.

" In one year the iron road has abridged that distance by half, and we are now within 200 miles of the North Pacific crossing at Morehead, in the neighborhood of Georgetown.

" A little over a year ago the military expedition, sent from Collingwood by the Lakes, after prodigies of toil and endurance, succeeded in reaching Fort Garry by the circuitous route of the Winnipeg River, after a march of three months. This year, so much is the line improved, that 200 men, at a season when snow and frost had increased enormously the hardships of the route, reached Fort Garry in perfect health, and without an accident, in twenty days from the day they left Thunder Bay.

" A year ago the question of a railway to the Pacific was a thing of theory. Its practicability was based upon conjecture. The whole country between this and the western frontier of Ontario was unknown. During the past season the intervening space has been divided into sections. An efficient surveying party has been despatched into each, while between Fort Garry and the West a party has been organized to reconnoitre the ground and pursue their explorations, till they shall meet, in the gorges of the Rocky Mountains, other parties sent out from the Pacific coast. By the time parliament shall have met, the Government of the Dominion will be in a position to judge of the whole line of country intervening between the Ottawa and the borders of the Pacific Ocean.

" May we not fairly say, then, that this Province has made great strides during the year that is just closing?

" Out of the chaos in which the arrival of the Lieutenant-Governor found us order and peace have been evoked; the excitements of times of trouble have passed away. A police has been organized, an enumeration of the inhabitants made, the country has been parcelled off into electoral divisions, elections have been held, an Assembly returned and convened, a responsible Ministry constituted, a code of laws enacted, courts of justice

"organized and put in operation, justice administered, criminals tried, convicted and sentenced, the Indian title to half a continent released, the public domain of the Province surveyed, laid off in blocks and made ready for immigration; lines of communication with Thunder Bay by the lakes, and with Duluth and St. Paul by the United States, improved; steamships for communicating with the interior in course of construction, and railway explorations across the continent almost complete; mail routes and post offices established all over the Province, custom houses instituted and duties collected, prisons and penitentiaries built; and, last of all, a telegraph line established, making us part and parcel of the living world. We may well ask whether the crowding of all these events into the compass of a single year is not a theme upon which we may congratulate ourselves and the Dominion to which we belong. We challenge the world to produce an instance where such an amount of work in any country or about any country has crowded the annals of a single year. Some of this work has been done outside of the authorities of the Dominion; but it is fair to say even of what has been so done, that much of it is due to the energy with which the Dominion authorities and the local authorities have applied themselves to the task of opening and developing the vast resources of the country committed to their charge.

"Of the rest of the work we are not concerned to apportion to each of the parties engaged in it the exact measure of praise which may be due.

"Where all have worked well it would be invidious to distinguish; but this we may say, that the Government of the Dominion and the officials they have sent here, the Lieutenant-Governor of the Province and the gentlemen with whom he has been surrounded, as his constitutional advisers, have acted with but one aim—that of faithfully discharging the responsible functions which the possession of this noble heritage imposes upon those who have in their hands the administration of public affairs."

COMMITTEE ROOM.

May 18th, 1874.

Lieut.-Governor Archibald's evidence continued:

I have now produced all the correspondence I had with any Member of the Government of Canada, with reference to the Fenian raid.

I have made a memorandum respecting the money transaction affecting Riel, which I now produce.

(No. 112.)

"I understand that His Grace Archbishop Taché, in his evidence, has stated that he told me he had \$1,000 at his disposal.

"He must be under a misapprehension. The first I ever heard of the \$1,000 was when the report of the newspapers of the proceedings upon this Committee was published. He is also under misapprehension if he states, as I understand he has, that I asked Mr. Smith to furnish funds, and that they would, of course, be reimbursed by the Canadian Government.

"His Grace's recollection must be very imperfect on this point. I stated distinctly that I had no funds under my control; that I had no power to dispose of the funds of Canada, and no knowledge what might be the views of the Canadian Government. I felt I was taking a great responsibility upon myself, but from my point of view I felt that in the true interests of the Dominion, it was most desirable that these parties should leave the country.

"Indeed I did not see how it was possible to preserve the peace if they remained while large rewards were offered, the hopes of which would induce men to act with warrant, or without warrant.

"Already a party of some eight or ten disbanded volunteers had, without warrant, made a raid on the house of Riel's mother, with faces masked and armed with revolvers, when they committed outrages that had excited the French half-breeds almost to frenzy.

"I therefore did not hesitate to say that as far as my own judgment went, I was quite prepared to take that line of action, and assume the responsibility of it.

"I trusted the Government of Canada would take the same view of it; but they might not; and as I was only a *locum tenens* for the moment, I should certainly leave them free to assume or repudiate the policy.

"The transaction between the Bishop and Sir John A. Macdonald appears to have been in December, 1871. This was in February, 1872.

"The grounds of danger which prompted Sir John's action, were entirely different from those that prompted mine.

"Sir John appears to have feared a second Fenian invasion, and to have doubts as to the line Riel and others would take. He was judging from without, and from sources of information different from mine. From the 5th October I never had a doubt on this point.

"My conviction as to the attitude of Riel and others in the invasion, had no doubt some influence on my mind in making me desire that they should not be involved in an armed resistance in case an attempt was made to arrest them.

"The whole matter was talked over before Donald A. Smith, M.P., who entirely agreed as to the soundness of the policy, and then the question arose as to how the funds were to be raised. Mr. Smith said that if I directed it, he would find the funds. I said I could only do that as a private individual, and although I took it for granted that the Government of the Dominion would not willingly make me a victim, they might not see their way clear to make it right. Mr. Smith said he had no doubt of the view they would take of it, and if there was any risk he was willing to share it with me.

"It was certainly agreed that Mr. Smith should advance the money to the Bishop, with the distinct understanding that these men should continue absent about twelve months.

"I supposed that the £600 covered the whole advances connected with these parties. I learned afterwards both from Mr. Smith and the Archbishop that this sum had been paid and the men had left the Province. My letter to Sir George Cartier put in evidence, details the general results without reference to the money transaction. I left the explanation of this to Mr. Smith, who was about visiting Ottawa, from whom I afterwards learned that he had seen Sir John A. Macdonald and Sir George Cartier, and that he was satisfied with what they said.

"I do not think that in any conversation with either of these gentlemen, of the many I had with them afterwards, the subject of this payment was ever mentioned.

"When I found Mr. Smith had been satisfied with the assurances received by him I did not feel it a matter of special concern to myself.

"In speaking of rewards I refer to the rewards offered by the Ontario Legislature and the Middlesex County Council.

"The vote had not then passed the Ontario Legislature, but it had been spoken of. The raid I spoke of was for the purpose of arresting Riel. The persons concerned in it threatened violence to Riel's mother and sister. I do not remember the date of the raid. I never brought the subject of the money advanced by Mr. Smith before the Government, but I understood from Mr. Smith that he had done so. I never told Mr. Smith that the Government had undertaken to make good the £600 he advanced. In my conversation with him to which he refers, I spoke only of another sum respecting which he has spoken in his evidence, namely, some compensation to the loyal French.

"I never had any conversation with Sir John A. Macdonald on the subject of the six hundred pounds. I derived the information as to Sir John's motives in respect of the money he advanced from Sir John himself since I came to Ottawa on the present occasion. Any one who derived his information only from English sources would probably have come to the same conclusion on which I have stated that Sir John probably acted.



"But I had information from both parties. Having heard read Sir John's statement that I had information more or less reliable that Riel and Lepine were playing a double game. I say that I certainly had some information to that effect from certain sources; but I did not consider it reliable, and Sir John must be mistaken in supposing that I communicated any impression to him of that nature. I did think, previous to the 11th of October, that they were playing a double game, but not after that date."

I now produce the correspondence to which I have referred in the foregoing statement respecting the election of Sir George Cartier.

I do not know that the conditions transmitted to Sir John A. Macdonald were prepared by Riel, but of course I had no doubt that he had been consulted about them. They were written down by myself as dictated by the Archbishop, and they were initiated by him afterwards.

(No. 115)

"So soon as the intelligence arrived from Ottawa that Sir George Cartier had lost his election in Montreal, it occurred to some of his friends in Manitoba, that it would be a wise thing to return him for one of the Counties of that Province, in which the elections were about a fortnight later than in the older Provinces.

"Up to this period the only candidates for Provencher were Mr. Riel and Mr. Clarke, the latter the Attorney General of Manitoba. Mr. Clarke seemed to be under the impression that he could carry the county. He had spent some time in his canvass, he had met Riel at several public assemblies, which were conducted with a good deal of violence. I assured myself, by inquiry, that he had no chance. I saw that Riel, if he persisted in offering, would be sure to succeed by a large majority. I believed that his success would be disastrous in every way—to the best interest alike of the Province and of the Dominion, and was looking round to find some way out of the complication. Just at this time came the telegraph from Sir John A. Macdonald, dated the 4th September.

"I then sent for Mr. Clarke, and talked the matter over with him, and subsequently for Bishop Taché. Clarke alleged he could beat Riel, and declared he would fight it out to the end if Riel ran, but he would consent to retire if all other local candidates did the same: he seemed to imagine that some third person would be brought out belonging to the Province, if the two other contestants should retire. To the Archbishop I represented the consequences which would result from Riel's return. I told him he would likely never reach Ottawa, and if he should do so, he would be sure to be expelled the House: that his return would be a source of perpetual trouble, and would retard the progress of the country in every way; that supposing the best to happen that could happen from his point of view, and that Riel would be allowed to take his seat quietly, he could hardly expect to exercise any considerable influence in the Dominion Parliament, while accident had presented to the new Province a noble opportunity of having a voice in the Cabinet of the Dominion; that with this view the best thing that could be done, was, that all local candidates should withdraw, and the people pitch upon Sir George, who, if elected under these circumstances, could not but feel a desire, and certainly would have power, to do everything that could reasonably be asked for the interests of the Province and the country. I added, that if this was done, it must be clearly understood that the local candidates were withdrawing to leave the field free; so that Sir George might be named as a candidate, upon whom the whole constituency might rally. The negotiation was prolonged for some hours. Next day the Archbishop informed me he had consulted with a number of leading people of the County, and that he found they would be willing, if Mr. Clarke withdrew, to combine with Mr. Clarke's supporters in the nomination of Sir George Cartier, provided that gentleman was willing to give certain pledges in reference to hay privileges claimed by the people under the Manitoba Act, and to protect them in the possession of certain claims so lands selected by them under that Act.

"I accordingly telegraphed to Sir John Macdonald on the 5th September the precise conditions that were suggested, and asked for a reply. Subsequently, considerable cor-

"response, by telegraph and otherwise, ensued, all of which is set forth in the various messages and letters submitted. These resulted in a reply from Sir John, which proved acceptable to all parties, saying that 'Sir George would do his best to meet the wishes of all parties,' and adding, 'that this statement should be satisfactory.'

"In the meanwhile, a fourth candidate had come on the field in the person of a Mr. Davy, a barrister from Napanee, but at the hustings he found that he had no chance, and he, as well as the other two local candidates, retired after being nominated. The result was that Sir George was, on the 14th September, returned by acclamation, there being no other candidate."

The nature and progress of the negotiations will appear by the copies of telegrams, and letters bearing date between the 4th and 14th September inclusive, submitted to the Committee.

(No. 114.)

*Cypher telegram: Sir Jno. A. Macdonald to Lieut.-Governor Archibald.*

"4th September, 1872.

"Get Sir George elected in your Province—do not however allow late Provisional resign in his favor.

"(Signed,)

JNO. A. MACDONALD."

(No. 115.)

*Cypher telegram to Sir John A. Macdonald from Lieut.-Governor Archibald.*

"5th September, 1872.

"Sir George can be elected by acclamation for Provencher if he feels free to say,—

"That the settlers shall be continued in the exercise of all the rights they have been accustomed to enjoy in respect of the lands on the rear of their lots, and no sales or entries thereon shall be permitted till the question of those rights shall be settled and adjusted under the agreement with the delegates.

"That no person shall be allowed to enter on the townships laid aside for the half-breeds from the date of their selection, and any person entering after that date to be removed by the Government authority."

"The above, though ungracious to ask, concedes nothing."

"The land where hay privilege exists is, with hardly an exception, included in half-breed selections recently laid aside under orders from Land Department. These lands are already withdrawn from market or entry (see Col. Dennis), and as to hay compensation it ought to be settled before next haying, and at all events whether settled or not, land cannot be sold or entered upon while it remains a half-breed selection. McMicken agrees with me that that demand, though ungracious, amounts to nothing. Please consult Sir George, who, so far as I know has no cypher, and reply immediately."

"(Signed,)

A. G. ARCHIBALD."

(No. 116.)

(Cypher telegram.)

*Lieutenant-Governor Archibald to Sir John A. Macdonald, K.C.B.*

"6th September, 1872.

"Not proposed that either candidate resign in favor of any person. Local candidates, though determined to fight each other, will give way to secure a Cabinet Minister for representative, thus acquiring for Province direct voice in Cabinet."

"(Signed,)

A. G. ARCHIBALD."

(No. 117.)

*Lieutenant-Governor Archibald to Sir John A. Macdonald.*

"11th September, 1872.

"Is there any answer to my cypher telegram? Time passing, and parties anxious have telegraphed direct, requesting reply.

"(Signed.)

A. G. ARCHIBALD."

(No. 118.)

(Telegram.)

*Sir John A. Macdonald to Lieutenant Governor Archibald.*

"11th September, 1872.

"I have sent message to Cartier, at Montréal, to-day, and expect his answer to-morrow by telegram. Offered several seats here. A Minister ought, I think, to give no pledge; it is a question of confidence altogether.

"(Signed.)

JOHN A. MACDONALD

(Copy.)

(No. 119.)

"Thursday morning, 12th Sept.

"(Private and Confidential.)

"MY DEAR ARCHBISHOP,—I received last evening a telegram from Sir John, to say that he had received my message, and sent it to Sir George, and that he expected a reply to-day, and would forward it to me at once.

"I see that he thinks the constituency ought to elect Sir George frankly and without stipulation. They could safely confide in promises, which being already made, can gain no strength by repetition.

"You shall have the answer from Sir George whenever it arrives.

Yours, &amp;c.,

"(Signed.)

A. G. ARCHIBALD.

"His Grace the Archbishop."

(No. 120.)

*Sir J. A. Macdonald to Governor Archibald.*

"OTTAWA, 12th Sept., 1872.

"Sir George will do all he can to meet the wishes of the parties. This statement should be satisfactory.

"(Signed.)

JOHN A. MACDONALD."

"Copy of telegram received from Sir John A. Macdonald, in reply to my telegram of the 5th September, 1872.

"(Signed.)

A. G. ARCHIBALD.

"For His Grace the Archbishop."

(Copy.)

(No. 121.)

"Thursday, 12th September, 1872.

"MY DEAR ARCHBISHOP,—I had sent you, by Mr. Boutillier, before the arrival of your note, what will be satisfactory.

"Could you make it convenient to see me in the morning, say, if possible, at ten o'clock, so that I may communicate with the parties.

"The receipt of this telegram does not change my belief that the unconditional return of Sir George is in the interests of the people here quite as much as in that of Sir George.

"I remain, &amp;c.,

"(Signed.)

A. G. ARCHIBALD.

"His Grace Archbishop Taché."

(No. 122.)

(Translation.)

Saturday, 6 a.m.

"To His Excellency,

"The Hon. A. G. Archibald,

"I have pleasure in informing you that success now appears to me certain. I had no definite news until two o'clock this morning. That is the reason why I did not send yesterday evening, provided always that Davy raises no obstacles.

"With respect and affection, yours most devotedly,

"(Signed,) ALEXANDER,

"Archbishop of St. Boniface."

(No. 123.)

*Copy of Cypher Telegram from Sir John A. Macdonald to Lieutenant-Governor Archibald,*

"Ottawa, 13th.

"FORT GARRY, 14th.

"Sir George, who is absent, agrees with me as to pledges it will be his interest to secure the approbation of his constituents, and he can be of more service to them than any other man.

"(Signed,) JOHN A. MACDONALD."

After the election I wrote a congratulatory letter to Sir George on his election, but I did not enter into any details of the previous events.

In October I left the territory. Nothing transpired in the meantime which can throw light on the subject of the inquiry.

My note of 5th September to the Archbishop was meant to refer to the benefits to be derived from having a Cabinet minister to represent a district of Manitoba, not at all to any advantage that might be derived therefrom by the persons implicated in the troubles.

My idea is that I must have seen the Archbishop before writing the letter of 5th September, and that the object of this letter was to press for a decision in favor of the view I had then expressed.

In the course of my examination I have produced to the Committee all the correspondence between myself and any member of the Government which would throw any light on the subjects as to which I have been examined.

I do not remember having received any communications coming from the Imperial Government relative to my answers to addresses.

I don't think there was any discussion as to the amnesty between the three of us, while the Archbishop, Sir George and myself were on the St. Lawrence on the way to Niagara.

ADAMS G. ARCHIBALD.

[The following Extract was handed in by Governor Archibald.]

(No. 124.)

*Extract from Letter from Hon. Adams G. Archibald to Donald A. Smith,*

"(Private.)

"GOVERNMENT HOUSE,

"HALIFAX, NOVA SCOTIA,

"20th December, 1873.

"MY DEAR MR. SMITH,—Your private letter of the 10th has enlightened me on several points on which I am ill-informed. I am truly astonished at one or two of the things you mention. After all that had taken place, I could hardly have believed it possible that two of the matters you refer to could have been left as they are. There can be no excuse for such neglect. Nobody knew better than Sir John, or admitted more unreservedly the essential service rendered to the Government in the steps taken to get them rid of an excitement which would have been found to be beyond their con-

"trot at the time, and when friends stepped into the gap and assumed risks, they should not have been left in that position an instant longer than was absolutely necessary. The matter should have been arranged at once, the more so that it was so often pressed. The same may be said of the compensation to the loyal French, which, to my certain knowledge, was arranged for at the time I mentioned to you. I had assumed that both these matters had been disposed of long ago. It is really unpardonable.

COMMITTEE ROOM,  
18th May, 1874.

George Fultvoys, Esquire, examined:—

I am Deputy of the Minister of Militia and Defence. I have filled that office since Confederation.

I was present at a meeting between Sir George Cartier and Father Ritchot on 19th May, 1870, or thereabouts, when Sir George told Father Ritchot this: "*Je garantis que vous aurez tout ce que vous avez demandé.*" I did not hear the conversation which had preceded this expression, nor was anything said afterwards during the same interview further. It was at the close of a long interview between them when I was called in and heard these words.

Father Ritchot came from Sir George's direct into my room, which was almost adjoining, and told me that Sir George had guaranteed that an amnesty for all the past should be granted as soon as it could possibly be obtained.

After Father Ritchot had left me I went into Sir George's room, when he told me that he had promised all that the delegates requested, and he hoped that everything was finally settled.

He asked me if Father Ritchot was satisfied, and I told him that he assured me that the promises made by Sir George were quite satisfactory. This interview was early in the day, and, I presume, before any audience of the Governor on that day.

I cannot recollect whether anything further or more detailed took place at this time.

In repeated subsequent interviews with Sir George, he frequently told me that he had promised the delegates that a general amnesty should be granted for all past offences.

I wrote the letter of 23rd May, of Sir George and the postscripts, by the dictation of Sir George himself.

With reference to the last paragraph of the letter itself, I have always heard from Sir George that the expression—"the liberal policy which the Government proposed to follow in relation to the persons for whom you are interesting yourself," referred to the granting of a general amnesty which should cover all the offences of the past.

He was aware that there was a difficulty—the death of Scott was a difficulty—but it was, he said, to be got over, and that everything was to be wiped out.

My impression is that he dictated the letter of 23rd May. I was not, I think, present at an interview between Father Ritchot and Sir George, between the writing of the letter and the writing of the postscript.

I cannot recollect the precise words of Sir George's subsequent conversations with me. I have no doubt whatever that I have accurately stated their substance.

Sir George addressed a strictly confidential memorandum to Lord Lisgar on the subject of the amnesty, in the latter end of May, 1870. I presume that this memorandum is in the Governor's Secretary's Office. There is not either a copy or the draft in the archives of the Department. It was written by myself, at the dictation of Sir George at his own house. It took eight or ten evenings. I still have the notes from which I made the copy, and these shew substantially the document.

I saw Father Ritchot about the 1st June. I gave him a packet of my cards for presentation to my friends in Manitoba, and told him, "Tell the friends that there is no fear but they will have all you have asked for, if promised by Sir George." We parted,

both under the firm conviction that an amnesty, extending to that time would be granted, my conviction being derived from the repeated assurances of Sir George that he would effect it.

After Sir George's death, all the papers in his official room were minutely examined by myself and Mr. Sulte, one of the clerks in the office.

He was in the habit of keeping everything. We destroyed everything which was of no importance. As to the rest, they were packed in separate parcels and delivered to such persons as we supposed to be most interested in them. All in any way relating to the North-West were placed in a large envelope, sealed and sent to Sir John Macdonald in his capacity of First Minister.

The papers he used to keep at his office were relatively unimportant. He always took home with him, to a room or office in his own house, the important papers. What became of these I know not, save that Mr. Langevin told me he had taken possession of everything.

Geo. FUTOYE.

COMMITTEE ROOM,

May 19, 1874.

Sir John A. Macdonald's evidence resumed:—

Since my former examination; I have read the examinations of Archbishop Taché and Father Ritchot.

With reference to the Archbishop's statements, that I said, as did Mr. Devine afterwards, "that if Lepine were convicted he would be pardoned;" what I meant to convey was, that certainly he would not be executed—that his sentence would be commuted.

After the resignation of the late Government, I saw the Archbishop, and we talked the whole subject over and the chances of an amnesty under the new Administration, when he used this expression: "Well, I thought I had been promised an amnesty, but I may have been mistaken." This had reference to a supposed promise by the late Government.

Father Ritchot says that, in a conversation at which Mr. Langevin was present, I neither admitted nor denied the promise of an amnesty by the Canadian Government or myself.

I desire to say that I heard Father Ritchot's re-statement of the grounds for amnesty; that these were translated to me by Mr. Langevin; and that I understood that the scope of his conversation was directed to the promise alleged to be made by Lord Lisgar and Sir Clinton Murdoch; and I then informed him that such promise was denied by these gentlemen.

These are the only statements I have to make as to the examinations of the Archbishop and Father Ritchot.

I have looked through Mr. Archibald's letters to-day, and I do not find anything in them which would throw light on the subjects of the reference to the Committee.

A large bundle of papers was sent me from Sir George's office, after his death (I think by Mr. Futvoye), in the nature of confidential State papers.

I have not myself examined them, but I asked my private secretary to do so, and to see whether there were any papers of importance. He reported that there were none.

As to Sir George Cartier's papers at his residence, I understood that Sir George's executors and Mr. Langevin had examined them all and destroyed such as they thought were unimportant or ought to be destroyed. What became of the rest I do not know. My information was derived from one of the executors and the notary, as well as from Mr. Langevin.

JOHN A. MACDONALD.

The following letters and memorandums were also submitted to the Committee:—

(No. 126.)

OTTAWA, June 9th, 1870.

"MY LORD,—Sir George Cartier has now furnished me with an elaborate statement of his views with copious references, which I trust will provide your Lordship with ample materials upon which to ground the decision of Her Majesty's Government.

" This document is entitled to all the consideration due to the writer's long experience  
 " and high political standing in British North America, but is not to be regarded as a  
 " Minute of Council nor as the expression of the opinion of the united Cabinet.

" I have, &c.,

" (Signed,)

JOHN YOUNG.

" The Right Honorable

" The Earl of Granville, K.G."

(No. 127.)

" GOVERNMENT HOUSE, OTTAWA,

" May 21st, 1874.

" SIR,—I am directed by His Excellency the Governor General to transmit, for the  
 " information of the North-West Committee, the following documents :—

" 1st. A letter from Sir John Macdonald, late Minister of Justice, to His Excellency  
 " asking permission to have communicated to the Committee a confidential memorandum  
 " submitted by Sir George Cartier, when acting as Minister of Justice during Sir John's  
 " illness, to Lord Lisgar, in reference to a petition from the Rev. Father Ritchot to Her  
 " Majesty. 2nd. A letter from His Excellency to Sir John Macdonald pointing out the  
 " confidential character of Sir George Cartier's paper, and stating the considerations  
 " which induce him to give the permission sought for. And 3dly, the memorandum of  
 " Sir George Cartier referred to in the above correspondence.

" I have the honor to be, Sir,

" Your obedient servant,

" (Signed,)

H. FLETCHER,

" Governor General's Secretary.

" The Chairman of the

" North-West Committee."

(No. 128.)

" OTTAWA, 19th May, 1874.

" DEAR LORD DUFFERIN,—I see by the newspapers that Mr. Fuvoye, in his evidence  
 " before the Committee on North-Western affairs, has alluded to a memorandum said to  
 " have been prepared by Sir George Cartier, on the subject of the amnesty.

" I think it but right to Sir George's memory, that this memorandum should be laid  
 " before the Committee, so that they may see exactly what he did say. If you see no  
 " objection to this course, I take the liberty of asking Your Excellency to cause a copy  
 " of the Minute in question to be transmitted to the Committee for their information.

" Believe me, Dear Lord Dufferin,

" Faithfully yours,

" JOHN A. MACDONALD."

(No. 129.)

(Private.)

" GOVERNMENT HOUSE,

" OTTAWA, May 20th, 1874.

" MY DEAR SIR JOHN,—I beg leave to acknowledge the receipt of your communi-  
 " cation of the 19th inst., in which you request me to cause to be communicated to the  
 " North-West Committee a memorandum, drawn up by Sir George Cartier, for the infor-  
 " mation of my predecessor, Lord Lisgar, in reference to a petition from the Rev. Abbé  
 " Ritchot to Her Majesty, dated 8th June, 1870.

" This document, emanating from a member of the Privy Council and embodying  
 " advice, tendered by a Minister to the Queen's Representative, is of course a most con-  
 " fidential paper; even its author could not have produced it before the Committee with-  
 " out my consent; and it is certainly desirable, in the interest of the public service, that  
 " all communications which take place between the Crown and its Ministers should con-  
 " tinue to be considered as privileged, according to the well-known usage of the British  
 " Constitution. As, however, Sir George is dead, and as he drew up the memorandum  
 " in question in his capacity of acting Minister of Justice, and as your *locum tenens* during  
 " your absence and illness, I believe I shall be acting in accordance with the rule recog-

"nized under such circumstances, in granting the permission you seek, to have the document in question communicated to the Committee, for which I have therefore given the necessary directions.

"Believe me, my dear Sir John,

"Yours very truly,

"(Signed,)

DUFFERIN."

(No. 131.)

(Copy.)

*Memorandum of Sir George E. Cartier.*

"OTTAWA, June 8th, 1870.

"In obedience to Your Excellency's request, the undersigned has the honor to submit for Your Excellency's consideration the following memo, which, it is well understood, must be of a confidential nature, on the Petition to Her Most Gracious Majesty the Queen from the Rev. Father Ritchot, acting as well on his own part as in the name and on behalf of the Honorable Judge Black and Alfred Scott, Esquire, the three Petitioners being delegates from the North-West Territory and Red River, and praying for the exercise of Her Majesty's prerogative of mercy in favor of the settlers in Red River, concerned in the illegal acts, which took place in the settlement during the period referred to in the Petition.

"The undersigned would respectfully submit that the question is somewhat of a delicate and complicated nature, and for arriving at its solution it is necessary to consider and appreciate the leading facts and events which have transpired during the period of the disturbances from the beginning.

"To prevent the undersigned from entering into unnecessary details of the lamentable occurrences, he would refer Your Excellency to the 'Correspondence and Papers connected with recent occurrences in the North-West Territories,' (A), the 'Report of the Select Committee of the Senate on the North-West Territory,' (B), the 'Report of the Rev. J. B. Thibault, of 17th March, 1870,' (C), and the 'Report of D. A. Smith, Esq., of the 12th April, 1870,' (D), printed by order and for the use of the Dominion Parliament, and to such other papers, despatches, and correspondence which may be in Your Excellency's possession, but which have not been considered proper to be laid before Parliament. The first document when hereafter referred to, is designated as Paper A. It is well to mention at the outset that with regard to the prayer of the Petition, the settlers will rely undoubtedly on the proclamation of Your Excellency of the 6th December last as an offer or promise of an amnesty, on the condition of their peaceable obedience and immediate dispersion.

"By that proclamation, which is to be found on page 44 of Paper A, the settlers were invited to make known to Your Excellency their grievances, with a view to having them redressed; they were assured that on the union of their Territory with Canada, all their civil rights and privileges would be respected; their properties be secured to them, and their country governed as in the past, in the spirit of British justice; they were invited to peaceably disperse; and they were informed that on their immediate and peaceable dispersion, orders would be given that no legal proceedings be taken against any parties implicated in those unfortunate breaches of the law.

"As stated in the Petition, the settlers, on the invitation made to them by Your Excellency's proclamation, and also on the invitation of the Government of Canada, were requested to send delegates, and, as I explained in that Petition, delegates were sent by the settlers, and the result of their conference with Your Excellency and Your Ministers, was the passing of the Measure for the Government of the Province of the Province of Manitoba, which the delegates have accepted as a measure of redress and pacification, and which they vouched would be accepted as such by the settlers.

"The undersigned is of opinion that the petitioners correctly state in the petition, that owing to the difficulty of communication, particularly during the fall and winter, between Red River and the Capital of Canada, it was impossible for the settlers to send



" delegates at an earlier date than the time at which the delegates came to Ottawa, a circumstance which is to be regretted ; and the undersigned also thinks that the delay which has necessarily occurred ought not to be regarded by Your Excellency as an evidence of unwillingness on the part of the settlers to respond to the call of Your Excellency and of the Dominion Government.

" The principal, and indeed the only difficulty, which presents itself to the undersigned as being in the way of Her Majesty in being pleased to grant a general amnesty in favor of those parties concerned in the disturbances at Red River, during the period stated in the petition, is the unfortunate shooting of Thomas Scott, under a pretended sentence of a court martial, in the eye and letter of the law illegally organized by the Provisional Government.

" For the facts and circumstances which attended the shooting of the poor man Scott, the undersigned would refer Your Excellency to pages 7 and 8 of the Report of D. A. Smith, Esq., in which it is properly stated that the one great merit claimed for the insurrection was, that up to the shooting of Scott, it had been bloodless.

" It is to some extent pretended that in that report by Riel and his followers, that the shooting of Scott was ordered as a necessary thing for the preservation of the peace of the inhabitants of the settlement ; that Scott was a dangerous character, and a disturber of the peace ; that he had been twice caught in arms, and twice pardoned by the Provisional Government ; that he was a violent man ; and even that he had been the ringleader in a rising against Mr. Snow, when in charge of a party employed by the Canadian Government in making a road some time previous.

" With regard to the fact of Mr. Scott having been one of the working party employed by Mr. Snow in road-making, the undersigned would refer Your Excellency to an account and receipt filed by Mr. Snow with the Government as a voucher, in which Mr. Snow states that he was forced, under threats and grievous bodily harm, to pay to Scott and others of the working party, the sums opposite their respective names. It is probably to that circumstance that Riel alluded in his remarks to Mr. Smith about Scott before the latter was shot.

" No one, outside of the circle of the difficulties existing for some time in the Red River settlement, can come to any other conclusion than that the shooting of Scott, without speaking of the illegality, was, to say the least of it, an act of excessive abuse of power, and of cruel brutality ; but to well appreciate the character of the deed, one must, as it were, transport oneself into the midst of the excited community at the time the deed was perpetrated, and must consider well the habits and current of thought of that community, and also consider well the links in the chain of illegal events which unfortunately took place for several months before the perpetration of the deed.

" To begin : First, there is no doubt that there was a strong feeling of antagonism, unanimously almost it may be said, in the half-breeds of all races and religions against the introduction of Canadian authority into the settlement ; but at no time before or during the trouble did those feelings exist against the sovereign power of the Queen, nor even against the political rule of the Hudson's Bay Company, which, though weak, was considered as benevolent and patriarchal, and to some extent was popular.

" It is a fact beyond doubt that the few who were opposed to the growing rule of the Hudson's Bay Company before the disturbances, were mostly settlers from Canada, who seem to have directed their energy in opposing the Hudson's Bay Company's Government, and who advocated its being replaced by the Canadian authorities. These few Canadians, by their opposition and their policy against the Hudson's Bay Company rendered themselves most objectionable, and to some extent detestable to the half-breeds of all origins and creeds, almost unanimously, who had been brought up to like and respect the patriarchal rule of the Hudson's Bay Company.

" It must be born in mind that the half-breeds of all creeds and origins, as well as their ancestors, have been always ready since the war of 1812, between the North-West Company and the Hudson's Bay Company to assist the weak power of the Hudson's Bay Company, and to help it in every struggle or difficulty against Indians

" or others. Then in the midst of that state of feeling came some subordinate employes of the Canadian Government in road making, who gave themselves unwarranted and assumed air of authority, and also the surveying party from Canada, under the injudicious Colonel Dennis, who aggravated the irritation of feelings by their proceedings, in trying, notwithstanding the opposition made to them, to include in their attempt at surveying, lands in the actual possession of the settlers.

" The natural feeling amongst the settlers was that the new comers had been sent amongst them to survey and measure their lands with a view of despoiling the settlers of them.

" There were also some erroneous but prevailing ideas amongst the settlers that they had been sold out in some manner by the Hudson's Bay Company to the Canadian Government, under the British North America Act, the provisions of which they did not know at the time, as subsequent events have proved. The settlers were prepared to view, and in fact viewed the immigration of Canadians in the light of invasion, as they would have viewed the invasion of their territory by Indians in former times.

" It is well here to observe that the political power of the Hudson's Bay Company, very weak in itself, and at no time sufficient to protect the community against the commission of crime by a proper administration of the criminal laws, had received a great blow by the passing of the British North America Act.

" It may be said properly that at the time Colonel Dennis and his surveying party irritated the feelings of the community by their attempts at surveying, notwithstanding the protest of the people, there was hardly any authoritative rule or Local Government except the will and the determination of the settlers themselves.

" When the settlers heard that Mr. McDougall, their future Lieutenant Governor, was on his way with his suite accompanying him to their settlement, they determined to oppose his entrance after their ways and habits of resisting invasions from the Indians.

" To meet the difficulties and to do away with the irritation, Governor McTavish assisted by his Council, in his letter to Mr. McDougall, of 30th October, 1869, strongly advised

Paper A.  
p.p. 23-24.

" Mr. McDougall to remain at Pembina, and not enter the Red River Territory. In his letter, Governor McTavish mentions that Mr. McDougall had even been cautioned previously by Col. Dennis to remain at Pembina.

" Col. Dennis in a letter of the 27th October, 1869, mentioned not only the opposition of the French half-breeds to Mr. McDougall's entrance into the territory, but

Paper A.  
p.p. 11-12.

" also the unwillingness of the English and Scotch half-breeds, in case of an appeal to arms being made to them, to join in a conflict against the

" French half-breeds, as they would see in that proceeding the certainty of a war with religion and nationality, the termination of which could then hardly be seen.

" The English and Scotch half-breeds appear, in the letter of Col. Dennis, to have among other things stated: 'We feel this way; we feel confidence in the future ad-

Paper A.  
p. 11.

" ministration of the Government of this country under Canadian rule; at the same time, we have not been consulted in any way as a people in entering the Dominion.'

" This reference is made to shew that among the half-breeds of all creeds and races, there was among a portion of them an objection to Mr. McDougall's entrance into the territory, and among the remainder a want of readiness of action to aid his entry into that territory.

" The undersigned now comes to the consideration of the circumstances which took place in the beginning of the month of December, 1869, and which may explain the increase of the irritated feelings amongst the settlers of all creeds and origins.

" There is first the proclamation of Mr. McDougall, of the 1st December, 1869, issued without authority, as in fact he was not Lieutenant Governor, and the illegal and, to say

Paper A., p. 103.

" the least of it, the extraordinary commission given by Mr. McDougall to Col. Dennis as Lieutenant and Conservator of the Peace in the North-

Paper A.  
p.p. 104-5.

" West Territories, to raise, organize, arm and equip and provision a sufficient force within the said Territories for warlike purposes against the settlers.

"There is no doubt that the language and terms of Mr. McDougall's commission to Col. Dennis, so soon as that proclamation became known to the settlers, must of themselves have provoked the half-breeds and have extremely irritated their feelings.

Besides that commission itself there are the doings of Col. Dennis hereafter alluded to, also of Major Boulton and other Canadians, assisted by Dr. Schultz and a few settlers from Upper Canada, who did all in their power to raise a force composed mainly of Canadians, as it would appear by their proceedings, to fight the French half-breeds. An enrolment of about sixty or seventy Canadians, principally from Upper Canada was the result of Col. Dennis' and Major Boulton's efforts. Appeals were made by Col. Dennis and some other Canadians to the English and Scotch half-breeds, to join them

"in the struggle against the French half-breeds; but they would not be induced to join the Canadians. This would appear in two letters of Paper A. — "December 9th, 1869, from Col. Dennis to Mr. McDougall, and in p.p. 96-97. "another letter of the 8th December, 1869, addressed to the same but

Paper A., p. 97. "without the signature of the writer (presumed to have been either Mr. Snow or Mr. Muir).

Paper A., P. 96. "Amongst other things said by him, Col. Dennis, in the former of his letters of the 9th December, expresses himself as follows:—It is a matter of sincere regret to me to be obliged to express the opinion deliberately given, that as a body the English speaking portion of the Red River Settlement proper, in their present frame of mind, cannot be counted on in any measures of aggressive character, which may be necessary to put down the French party now in arms against the Government, and in the other he says 'I think they would do anything, many of them, rather than offend the French now' (as they say) they see 'list of rights that the French ask nothing very unreasonable.'

"In the letter without signature, the writer expresses himself thus 'I tried my best to get a force formidable enough to assist in carrying out Col. Dennis' orders, but I fear the whole scheme will be a failure. Even among our English-speaking population we have to contend with worse characters than the French half-breeds, which I am sorry to inform you, but nevertheless too true.'

"The Scotch settlement will not join us, or any other parish of the Protestant population, so that it would be the height of folly for us to take any aggressive steps, for we would be overpowered by numbers. We have in these two parishes all the disadvantage, both in numbers and arms.'

"These extracts show beyond doubt, that if the French half-breeds were more active in the movement, the English and Scotch half-breeds would not oppose them.

"Col. Dennis, in his Report, dated December 8th, 1869, states that Bishop McCrea, Paper A., P. 113. "Archdeacon McLean and some others in the settlement, begged that no aggressive action should be taken.

"Col. Dennis, in a memorandum of Orders to the enrolled Canadians, of the 4th December, 1869, ordered the Canadians to withdraw from the village and to go down to the Scotch settlement, where he would meet them and establish them in defensible quarters. Paper A., p. 114.

"In another memorandum of the 6th December, 1869, Col. Dennis reiterates, in effect, the same orders to the enrolled Canadians, and eventually in his

119. "letter of 9th December, 1869, he ended by calling on the people to Paper A., p.p. 122, 123. "cease from further action under the appeal to arms made by him.

"In the midst of the excited state of the feelings amongst the settlers, Col. Dennis had to flee from the settlement, leaving, as it would appear, the enrolled Canadians behind him, and the result of his proceeding was the imprisonment of a certain number of those Canadians who had enrolled to serve under his orders. Any one may well imagine what amount of provocation the doings of Col. Dennis and his proceedings must have caused amongst the settlers, and the violence of feeling they must have engendered amongst the settlers against the so-called Canadians or Canadian party. During all this time Col. Dennis and his party were preparing for war on their own

"account, not being authorized to do so by any lawful governing authority in the settlement, and were viewed and considered by the settlers as invaders, in the same light as invading Indians would have been considered if they had invaded the settlement."

"It is well here to refer Your Excellency to a commission given by Col. Dennis on the 16th December, 1869, before he left Pembina, to one Joseph Monkman, an Indian of the Red River settlement, the object of which commission was to give a pretended authority to Mr. Monkman to induce certain tribes of Indians to join in a deadly war against the French half-breeds at Red River. The language of that commission is of such an extraordinary character that it was thought proper not to have it printed among the 'correspondence and papers' designated as paper A.

"It was only a few days ago that the original of that commission was obtained from the Indian, Monkman. It is to be hoped that he has not shewn it to many people. A copy of it accompanies this memorandum as a part of the proceedings connected with the disturbances at Red River.

"We come now to the most unfortunate and most deplorable unauthorized movement by the attempt at again raising war, by Major Boulton and his party, against the settlers in February last, which ended in the capture of Major Boulton and several of his followers, and the recapture of the unfortunate Scott who had been captured formerly and afterwards released.

"Mr. Smith, in his report, qualifies that movement as the most unfortunate one, and states that the movement was discountenanced by the great majority of the English and Scotch settlers, who bitterly complained of those who had set it on foot, and that the attempt was to be deplored as it resulted in placing the whole settlement at the feet of Riel.

"The unauthorized Major Boulton movement placed the community of settlers of all creeds and races, and Riel in particular, in a very difficult position. That additional movement, of a nature of warlike invasion in the Red River settlement must have increased, in an immense degree, the violence of feelings of the majority of the community and of Riel himself as a matter of course.

"Riel and his co-associates in their extreme desire to protect the community of Red River against the further invasion of their territory by the unauthorized movements of Canadians must, very likely, have become excited to madness and under their over-excited feeling, come to the conclusion that some of the so-called Canadian invaders should perish as an example of warning to any temerary invader according to their own appreciation.

"Major Boulton seems, by the report of Mr. Smith, to have been himself the intended victim, but he was pardoned and released by Riel, and the fatal blow in the end was determined to fall on the poor, unfortunate Scott, who was, notwithstanding representations and remonstrances, so cruelly shot under a sentence of a pretended court-martial. It would seem, by the events which transpired before the shooting of poor Scott, that Riel was appealed to by several parties for the saving of Scott's life, as the man possessing the power to do so. It is certain that *nothing but appeals* to Riel were resorted to, to save the poor man's life, as if nothing else at that time could have been tried to save poor Scott. Riel must have been under the delusive conviction, that, in ordering the shooting of Scott he was saving the community from future danger of invasion, and was meeting the feelings of the majority of the community. Since the perpetration of the awful deed of the shooting of Scott, that deed has been the subject matter of discussion in the Red River Settlement, and, as it appears by a number of the 'New Nation,' (a newspaper published in the Territory,) of the 13th May last, accompanying this memorandum, it would seem that some portion at least of the community does not view the perpetration of that deed with the horror of feeling with which it is received and considered in this country or in England.

"It seems, also, that Riel, since the perpetration of the dreadful act, has apparently continued to enjoy the confidence of the majority of the community as a political

" leader, and that that confidence does not appear to have been shaken by the course he adopted with regard to the shooting of Scott.

" It is very difficult, in a state of great political excitement, to foresee and appreciate the deeds of violence which are the consequence of it.

" As an example of such a state of feelings, the undersigned would refer Your Excellency to the proceedings of an assembly which took place in Toronto, on the occasion of the arrival of Father Ritchot and Alfred Scott, Esquire, two of the delegates from the Red River to Your Excellency, at which assembly it is reported to have been expressed by some one that they ought to be *lynched*; and no one can say what would have been the consequences at the time of that meeting, if Father Ritchot and Mr. Scott had been found in Toronto. When such expression of violent feeling is reported to have taken place in a civilized city like Toronto, with a view to violent acts, it can be easily understood to what extent the feelings of the community, composed principally of half-breeds, not trained under the administration of criminal laws, and mainly governing themselves according to their habits of life and customs, can be excited even to the commission of violent deeds, under the pretence of self-protection and preservation.

" After the above preliminaries, the undersigned can better appreciate in its true aspect the position of Riel and his co-actors in the shooting of the poor man Scott. There is not the least doubt that, in the eye and according to the letter of the English criminal law, Riel and his co-actors can be indicted not only for high treason, levying of war, and rebellion against Her Majesty, but also for the crime of murder of the unfortunate man Scott in furtherance of that rebellion. It is obvious, however, that Riel and his co-actors can be tried for these high crimes only before the ordinary tribunal and under the jury system now prevailing in the Red River Settlement.

" By the Act of the Dominion Parliament, creating Manitoba into a Province, the criminal laws and the jury system for the trying of offences are in no way altered. No one would think that they ought to be, or could be, brought before any tribunal in Upper Canada, under the provisions of 43 George III., cap. 138, and 1st and 2nd George IV., cap. 66; for even under such proceeding, if to some extent possible, it would be considered monstrous to remove accused parties for trial from the ordinary jurisdiction of their own tribunal and jurymen selected from the community to which they belong.

" The undersigned takes it for granted that if Riel and his co-actors were tried for the crimes above mentioned, they must be tried before the ordinary legal criminal tribunal, existing at Red River, and before jurymen selected from the people thereof, according to the laws and rules there existing.

" Now, supposing that Riel and his co-actors were to be indicted and tried in Red River for the above criminal offences, could a verdict of guilty be obtained under all the circumstances and facts and events which have transpired in the settlement of Red River during the last seven months? Riel and his co-actors would, as a matter of course, adopt as a line of defence, that with regard to the charge of high treason, levying of war, and rebellion, they never intended to depose Her Majesty from Her rule in the Red River Territory; nor did they ever intend to levy war or to rebel against Her Majesty. They would contend that all they did was merely to effect the organization of some temporary local government to protect the lives and property of the settlers of Red River in the absence of any actual local government organized by Her Majesty, with the view to resist unauthorized invasions and attempts at war against them. Without alluding to the irritation of feelings caused by the surveying parties at the outset, they would contend that if their proceedings have been illegal they were less so:

" 1st, than the proceedings of Mr. McDougall, who in fact usurped the rights, privileges, and powers of Lieutenant Governor of the territory when he was not such; who issued an illegal proclamation without authority, and the extraordinary commission to Colonel Dennis, under the pretended authority of which that gentleman gave to the

" Indian, Monkman, a commission to induce Indians to wage war against the settlement of Red River in every possible way ;

" 2nd, than the proceedings of Colonel Dennis and his co-actors in having organized without any authority the first movement and the first band of Canadian immigrants to wage war against the settlers of Red River and to invade their territory ;

" 3rd, than the proceedings of Major Boulton and his co-actors in organizing the second movement and the second band of Canadian immigrants to wage war against the settlers of Red River and to invade their territory.

" Against the charge of rebellion they would refer,—

" 1st, To the declaration of the 8th December, signed by John Bruce, as President, and Louis Riel as Secretary, in which document it is stated that their intentions were to resist the authority of Canada and not that of Her Majesty, and that they protested against Canada imposing on them a despotic form of Government, *contrary to their rights and interest as British subjects*, and in which it is stated also that they were willing and ready to enter into such negotiations with the Canadian Government as *might be favorable for the good government and prosperity of the people*.

" 2nd, To their sending of delegates when called on to do so by the Queen's authority and the Canadian Government, and to all the subsequent proceedings of the Provisional Government and the convention in the Settlement, during which it has been again and again expressed that their feelings, as well as the feelings of the settlers, were to join the Canadian Confederation, provided their rights and privileges were secured to them, and that there was no desire nor intention to withdraw themselves from allegiance to Her Majesty.

" They would contend also that the establishment of the Local Government had become a necessary thing, and that it became a Government *de facto*, inasmuch as the weak political Government of the Hudson's Bay Company received by the passing of the British North America Act, a blow which weakened it immensely, and in June received the last deadly blow by the unauthorized and illegal proclamation of Mr. McDougall, which proclamation, as a consequence, destroyed the good effect intended to be produced by Your Excellency's proclamation of 6th December, 1869. They would refer to the opinion of Governor McTavish, expressed in divers letters from him, with regard to the weakened and inefficient state of the political power of the Hudson's

" Bay Company, in consequence of the prospective transfer of the Territory to the Dominion of Canada, and the events which took place afterwards, and they would undoubtedly refer to his letter of 9th November, 1869.

" They would contend also that their local organization was based upon the habits of the community, and particularly with a view to protect themselves and to resist the invasion of the Canadians in the same manner as their fathers would have done to resist an invasion by the Indians, and according to the manner in which it took place and has been acted on in the settlement since the war of 1812, between the North-West Company and the Hudson's Bay Company.

" With regard to the charge of murder of the poor man Scott, in furtherance of their rebellion, they would contend that the deed was committed as a necessary thing to protect the community from further invasion by the Canadians ; that the Act was committed with the exercise of the local power of the *de facto* Government ; that they cannot be made individually responsible for it, as it was to some extent the act of the community, and that the responsibility of it, if it lies with them to any extent, would lie more on the illegal deeds and several unauthorized invasions of the Canadians, and by their attempt at waging war against the settlers, provoked the regretted deed.

" The undersigned is inclined to think that Riel and his co-actors could not, under all the circumstances of the case, be found guilty in Red River, or even by a jury in England ; and that, such being the case, it is a great matter of consideration if when peace has to be restored in the Red River Settlement, whether it would not be productive of a very bad effect, and tend to perpetuate a feeling of irritation if Riel and his

"co-actors in the shooting of Scott were excepted from any amnesty which Her Majesty might be pleased to grant; when there is almost a certainty that if they were excepted, and charged with high treason, and rebellion and the murder of Scott, in furtherance of that rebellion, they would be declared 'Not Guilty' by a jury of their countrymen selected according to the laws and rules prevailing in that settlement.

"If the undersigned had any suggestion to make in the matter it would be his opinion that the best policy to pursue in case Her Majesty should be graciously inclined to grant a general amnesty for any acts amounting to high treason, levying of war, rebellion and treasonable practices during the period mentioned in the petition of Father Ritchot and others, would be that such amnesty should except no one.

"In case of the granting of such an amnesty by Her Majesty, any one who might be inclined to charge Riel and his co-actors with the murder of Scott, and to have them tried for murder, could do so, but then the defendants would, as a matter of course, plead 'Not Guilty,' and would adopt as a line of defence, that the deed was perpetrated in the exercise of assumed and usurped political powers, for which political offences an amnesty had been granted to them; and that the crime of murder was merged in the greater crime of treason, pardoned by the amnesty.

"It would then be for the court and jury to solve the question, and very likely a decision or verdict of acquittal would be given.

"The undersigned, in case of an amnesty being granted, would also suggest that it should extend to those Canadians who, without authority, took part in those conspiracies, or attempt to levy war against the settlers, to prevent them hereafter from being brought before any criminal tribunal by any party actuated by vindictive feeling.

"Lastly, the undersigned would suggest that in case of a general amnesty being granted by Her Majesty it should contain a condition that it shall not be available to any person who, having taken part in the disturbances during the period mentioned in the petition, shall resist Her Majesty's authority, when the future Lieutenant-Governor of Manitoba will enter on the duties of his office.

"Before concluding this memorandum, the undersigned thinks it is duty to accompany it with a letter from His Lordship Bishop Taché, dated 17th May last, from the Red River settlement, in which, amongst other things, His Lordship takes exception to some statements made by Mr Smith in his report above alluded to, and the purport of which is to throw an additional light on the Red River difficulty.

"The undersigned will further add, that when Mr. Smith made his entry into the territory there was an idea or suspicion, however erroneous it might have been, that he might be more inclined to sow difficulties in the settlement than to settle them.

"This erroneous idea explains by itself the apparent want of readiness on the part of the settlers to listen to him.

(Signed),

GEO. E. CARTIER,

"Minister of Militia,

"And acting for Minister of Justice."

COMMITTEE ROOM,

May 19th, 1874.

Hon. M. A. Girard, Winnipeg, being examined, deposed as follows:

"I was in Manitoba for the first time in August, 1870, and have lived there since. I was called to the Executive Council, by Governor Archibald as his first Executive Councillor representing the French party. I was sworn in as such Councillor on the 17th September, 1870.

"I have no knowledge, except by hearsay, of the causes of these disturbances, nor of the causes which retarded the granting of the amnesty promised in the proclamation of Sir John A. Macdonald, of the 6th December, 1870.

"As one of the Ministers of the Province, and feeling that it would be impossible to do much good in the Province without an amnesty, I wrote to Sir George Cartier, whom

I regarded as one of my particular friends, on two or three different occasions, drawing his attention to that amnesty and the promise that I understood from the whole of the people had been made of an amnesty. In these letters I described the condition of the country, and urged strongly on Sir George the necessity for an amnesty.

I received answers to several of these letters—I think to all of them. His answer was to request me to be sure that the amnesty would come. "*Soyez certain que l'amnestie viendra avant long temps.*" Tell your people to remain quiet and keep order."

I wrote to Sir George as well in my capacity of a Minister as the sole representative of the French element; and also as friend. I have not those answers from Sir George here; they are at Winnipeg. In these letters to me he remarked also when recommending quiet, that the enemies of the people would be gratified if they put themselves in the wrong by acting otherwise, and so deprive themselves of the benefit of their position. He desired me to tell them to adhere to their duty and that the amnesty would inevitably come.

I was then engaged in my election, and I made these communications very generally known among the people, as well in my county as elsewhere. I made extracts from these letters and circulated them among the people; and I consider that they had a powerful effect in calming the people and preserving peace and good order. I think I can find these letters, and, if I can, I will transmit them to the Chairman.

On the day I was sworn in, a proclamation was issued by Governor Archibald, which I understood was prepared by the Government in Ottawa, and had come up ready for publication. That proclamation is published in the Parliamentary papers of 1871 of the Ottawa Parliament, and this proclamation I understood as being to a certain extent, a promulgation of amnesty, because it invited the whole people without any exception to behave as good subjects, and assist in maintaining order. At that time there were apprehensions of trouble in the Province. It was a few days after the death of Clouet, and there was a good deal of excitement.

I was charged as a Minister to cause the proclamation to be circulated as much as possible among the people, and to explain it to them.

The proclamation is published in Sessional Papers No. 5 of vol. 4, page 17. On or about the day of the publication of the proclamation I was at St. Norbert passing the night at the Curé's residence, and on the following day, which was Sunday, I met the people at the church door, and addressed them. I explained to them the proclamation. To my surprise I met Mr. Riel among the people. I had supposed that he was out of the country, and I felt my position as a new Minister a delicate one as regarded him.

He asked me to tell him, as a Minister of the Crown, if he was excluded or not by the Proclamation I have just referred to. I told him officially, "No, you are not excluded; and I would like to have a sufficient force to protect you." But for the sake of your country and your friends, absent yourself for a while from the country, and be sure, that as soon as the Government is strong enough to protect you, we will recall you, that you may take the place to which you are entitled." I meant his place either as Minister or Representative in the Government of his country.

When I used the phrase as to "sufficient force," I meant that we could not count on the military force that was there for that purpose, by reason of their feeling on that subject.

Riel went away immediately.

What I said to Riel afterwards related to the people there assembled.

The question of amnesty arose again on the organization of the Province in reference to the appointment of Justices of the Peace and Legislative Councillors.

Some people were much opposed to the appointment of any who had taken any part in the troubles of 1869 and 1870, but finally a certain number of them were called and sworn, with the consent of all parties.

Mr. Dauphinais, who was a member of Riel's Provisional Government, and was known to have been such by the authorities, was appointed Legislative Councillor. John Bruce, who was the first President of the Provisional Government, and was known to have been such by the authorities, was appointed a Justice of the Peace.



Pierre Delorme, who was I believe, a member of the Council under the Provisional Government, and was known to have been such, was appointed a Justice of the Peace.

He is the same person who was afterwards elected to the House of Commons for Provencher, and who is now a member of the North-West Council, named by the Canadian Government, and also a member of the Local Assembly.

Maxime Lepine, who, I believe, was a member of the Council under the Provisional Government, and who was known to be such by the authorities, and who took an active part in the insurrection, was appointed a Justice of the Peace.

Immediately after my meeting at St. Norbert with Riel and the people, I saw the Governor, to give an account of the affair.

I told him what had passed. He neither approved nor disapproved of what I had done. As to my meeting Riel, he said that was of no consequence, referring to some attacks which had been made on me for having shaken hands with him.

I recollect the Fenian raid. I was then in the Government. I remember the arrival near the fort of the body of Metis numbering perhaps 400 or 500, perhaps one-third mounted and the rest dismounted. The greater part were armed. Riel, Lepine and Parenteau appeared to be jointly in command of them. These three seemed to be on an equal footing.

I informed the Lieutenant-Governor of their arrival, at the request of Mr. Royal, then Speaker of the Assembly.

I told him that the Metis wanted to meet him either in the fort or on the other side of the river. I told him that Riel and his friends were there. He consulted me whether it would be better to meet them in the fort or on the river. I recommended him to see them at the river. He agreed. We crossed the river; I in a rowboat; the Governor in a scow on horseback, accompanied by Captain Macdonald I think. We came close to them, and I then said to the Governor that these men were ready to go to the front to defend their country; thereupon the Governor spoke to them saying, that he received their offer and had much satisfaction in meeting them.

Afterwards there was a sort of salute fired, and cheering on both sides of the river.

Afterwards he went with me among the crowd at the river and I, Royal and Dubuc, introduced him to the prominent men, amongst whom was Riel. I introduced Riel as the man whom the half-breeds had chosen as their chief for the occasion. I thought it would be better not to give the name of Riel to the Governor. This had occurred to my own mind on the way across the river. It had not in any way been discussed.

I supposed he understood it was Riel.

Governor Archibald shook hands with Riel when introduced to him in the way I have described.

Mr. Dubuc introduced Ambroise Lepine by his name as a prominent man and the Governor also shook hands with him.

Parenteau was also introduced by name, and the Governor shook hands with him.

Riel was the first introduced.

After the introductions, Riel addressed the Governor publicly saying that he was there with his friends to offer their services in defence of the country against all enemies, and asking the Governor to accept their services.

The Governor thanked him very warmly for that offer of service, and told him it was received with much pleasure.

After I had been made a Senator, I saw Sir John A. Macdonald in the Sessions of 1872 and 1873 on the subject of the North-West. I was insisting on the promulgation of an amnesty by telling him that the Province would not improve as long as that question was unsettled. He did not deny to me the promise of an amnesty.

He said to me that very likely something would be done; that he was as anxious as I was to be rid of the question; and the last time I saw him he said he was going to England, and that we would have a chance to see that question settled.

I mentioned these conversations to some of the more prominent local men.

M. A. GIRARD.

COMMITTEE ROOM,  
20th May, 1874.

Benjamin Sulte being examined deposed as follows :—

I have been a clerk in the Department of Militia since May, 1870.

I knew nothing personally of the causes of the troubles, or of the causes which have delayed the issue of the amnesty promised in the proclamation of the 6th December, 1869.

In January, 1870, I was employed in the Translator's Office in the House of Commons. I was personally acquainted with Sir George Cartier. I received a letter in January, 1870, from a friend in Montreal. Mr. Eustache Prudhomme, enclosing a letter from Mr. Riel, addressed to him. I communicated both to Sir George. The letter of Mr. Riel was mainly a protest against some newspaper articles alleging that he was a rebel, an annexationist, &c. Riel alleged that he only resisted in order to have a fair arrangement of the conditions of union with Canada.

During the winter I received in the same way further letters of Riel, and I communicated them, or extracts from them, to Sir George. They were in the same sense as that which I have already described.

Sir George and I had many conversations, growing out of the communication of these letters. I remember nothing of importance till the 19th May, between which time and the 25th May, 1870, there were constant interviews between Father Ritchot and Sir George. Sometimes five or six in a day. In fact this was almost his sole business at that time.

I was acting as Sir George's private secretary at this time, and as such remained in the room during these interviews or most of them.

It was on this 19th May that I commenced acting as private secretary for Sir George.

From that time there were no conversations between us in the relation which had formerly existed as hereinbefore described.

During these interviews with Father Ritchot, at which I was present, Sir George repeatedly assured Father Ritchot that his people would not be troubled in reference to what had taken place in the North-West. One day Father Ritchot said, "As I do not understand English very well, I am not satisfied with what His Excellency said to me at our interview." On that, Sir George replied, "That he need not fear anything for there could not be no ambiguity, and that His Excellency and the Ministry would take such steps as to protect them from any annoyance for the acts of the past."

Upon another day Father Ritchot spoke about a petition, that was I understood then being prepared, asking Her Majesty to grant a general amnesty, and he asked Sir George if he would support the petition by a document signed by himself: to which Sir George replied that he would. Father Ritchot then said to Sir George, that he might make his representations to the Imperial authorities in such manner, and in such form as he thought proper; but one point must not be forgotten: that a general amnesty, including every one, both of those who were known to have taken part in the insurrection, and those who turned out in arms against them.

When Father Ritchot left Ottawa, he expressed himself to me that he was satisfied an amnesty would be granted to all concerned in the North-West troubles.

BENJAMIN SULTE.

COMMITTEE ROOM,  
20th May, 1874.

L. F. R. Masson, Esq., M.P., examined, deposed as follows:—

I know nothing on the first two points in the reference.

During the spring session of 1873 I saw Father Ritchot here; he complained that the amnesty promised to him had not yet been granted, and asked me to interest myself in obtaining a speedy solution of that question.

I saw him several times and he shewed me certain papers, including his appointment as a delegate, a draft of the produced letter from him to Sir George, of 18th May, and Sir George's answer, and a petition he had presented to Lord Lisgar. I had interviews on the subject with Mr. Langevin, during which I thought I saw that he knew little relating to the matter contained in these papers.

About 20th March, 1873, I had an interview with Sir John Macdonald, in which I told him that both the Archbishop and Father Ritchot affirmed that an amnesty had been promised, and that they were led to understand, both by himself and Sir George, that they would lend their good offices in obtaining the amnesty. Sir John did not answer in words, though his manner conveyed to me the impression that he did not assent to this statement.

I am thus led to add the statement that I thought a great many would believe the Archbishop and Father Ritchot as their version was reasonable.

That the public would see that the Archbishop was our commissioner, that the Government had had confidence in him, and that he might rest assured that many would be disposed to bestow upon him the same confidence.

As to Father Ritchot, I told him that he would be believed by many, because the public knew that he had been received as delegate from the Provisional Government, and that it would be only natural to suppose that if he had asked for the amnesty the Government could not have reasonably refused it, and continued to deal with him as such delegate.

Sir John then denied that he had ever received the delegates as delegates from the Provisional Government.

I shewed him or spoke to him of the documents of appointment, which I had been informed had been laid before the Government.

Sir John denied that they had even been laid before the Government, and asserted that the delegates had been received only as delegates of the people. I thereupon asked him what were their credentials. He replied, "There must be other papers," and we dropped that part of the affair.

I then told him of the petition of Ritchot and Scott addressed to the Queen. Sir John said there must have been an extraordinary misunderstanding, and it must be accounted for by the fact that Father Ritchot did not understand the English language.

I told him that I thought he would at any rate understand Sir George Cartier; thereupon Sir John said that I myself was, he thought, under a false impression, and that he would give me proofs of it, and he then read to me a letter from Sir George Cartier to himself, to the purport of one of these produced by Sir John in his examination. He added that he would show me other letters from men of honor, in the same sense, and he read me a letter from Lord Lisgar, which, I believe, contained the statement that it was here that the delegates had spoken of the amnesty, but that they had been told that the question would not be entertained.

He told me he had also a letter from Sir Clinton Murdoch to the same effect, which he tried unsuccessfully to find, and told me he would communicate to me later. I told Sir John that I felt the weight of these letters, but that notwithstanding, I thought the word of the Archbishop and Father Ritchot would also have great weight, and that many would believe that that they had been outwitted, which would be deplorable.

Sir John, for himself, then denied that he had promised the amnesty or that he had promised to do his best to obtain the amnesty, and to this he has always adhered.

We then passed to the question of the advisability of granting an amnesty, and this

was discussed at some length, but there was not at this conversation any formal declaration of Sir John that he would take up the question. Sir John pointed out the diversity of feeling which existed in the country on the subject, and the consequent difficulty in dealing with the subject. I suggested to him that he should make use of Sir George Cartier who was in England and could influence the Imperial Government, but he did not give any distinct answer though he seemed to think the suggestion a good one.

The next interview of any importance I had was about 29th April, 1873, with Sir John and Mr. Langevin and Father Ritchot; I went at the request of Father Ritchot; Sir John sent for Mr. Langevin.

The question chiefly discussed was as to the promises of Lord Lisgar and Sir Clinton Murdoch.

Sir John pointed out the denials of these gentlemen. The question as to the capacity in which the delegates were received was also raised. Sir John stated that he had not received them as delegates of the Provisional Government. Father Ritchot asked me what it was that Sir John said. I told Father Ritchot, who at once said, interrogatively, "You told me that?" Sir John answered, "Oh, no; I said that to my friends or to others." I confirm Father Ritchot's evidence on this point.

About 10th May, having received a letter from Father Ritchot, remonstrating urgently against the conduct of the Government, and declaring that he was determined to have the whole thing made public, I saw Sir John, and informed him then, as I had informed him before, that unless something was done Father Ritchot would take this action. After a long conversation, Sir John requested me to assure Father Ritchot that the question of amnesty would be settled to his entire satisfaction before his departure from Ottawa, and asked me to advise him to remain here after the Session, that he would then see to the matter. He moreover told me to use all my endeavor with Father Ritchot to persuade him to be patient meanwhile, and to use whatever influence I might have with him to remain in Ottawa, and not press the question at that moment.

I told Sir John that I did not like to take that responsibility, which I thought would be serious.

He said to me this, "Masson, I tell you you can take it." I thereupon stated I would take the responsibility on that assurance.

I advised Father Ritchot accordingly, and he acted accordingly.

Nothing more passed during the Session. Father Ritchot, I believe, remained, as Sir John had requested, until after the close of the Session, and I left Ottawa at its close, or a day or two before.

I had no further communication with Sir John on the question of amnesty until the fall session of 1873. I was officially asked to join the Administration in September, 1873. The question of the North-West affairs had something to do with my refusal. I answered the request in writing, at the end of September, to this effect, that I had held strong opinions on some questions which I thought of great importance, and that in the unsettled state of the questions, I felt that my presence in the Government would be a source of embarrassment and not of strength, and would not be at that time of advantage to the country, and I respectfully declined.

I did not particularize the questions referred to, but in fact they were the New Brunswick School question and the amnesty.

In the whole course of the negotiations I had no discussion with Sir John on the question of amnesty.

I had not, in the course of the negotiations, any discussion with Mr. Langevin on this subject save at the first interview, which took place on the occasion of Sir George's funeral, on 14th June, when, on first approaching me as to my entering the Cabinet, in response to my statement that I could not take the responsibility of helping to conduct the affairs of the country unless the amnesty was granted, he told me that on that score there was no difficulty; that the amnesty was a settled affair; that it would be granted either before or immediately after the next Session; that the Government would take hold of it. He told me that we would have to talk over the matter again with Sir John.

The question of amnesty was not further discussed, nor was any allusion made to my entering the Cabinet until the middle of September, when Mr. Langevin gave me a note from Sir John, asking me to join the Government, and talk the matter over with Mr. Langevin. Other complications in the North West having ~~some time~~ after occurred—I allude to Riel's election, and his attempted arrest, and the legal proceedings against him—and these and all other considerations made me feel that my presence in the Government would not be satisfactory to myself or useful to the country, and I preferred maintaining an independent position in the House.

I did not discuss the question of amnesty with Mr. Langevin after receiving Sir John's note. That point was already understood between us as I have related. In the fall session of 1873 I had several interviews with Mr. Langevin; I told him that the crisis had arrived, and it was time for the Government to act. I told him I am the cause that the question had not been pushed the previous session, and that the people in Manitoba might feel that I had abandoned the cause, and as the Archbishop and Father Ritchot were determined to press the decision of the question immediately, I thought myself bound in honor to support them in their endeavors, as I might be considered responsible for their not having obtained justice sooner.

I then told Mr. Langevin that I could not continue to support the Government unless the question was settled.

Thereupon there were meetings of the French supporters of the Government, at which Mr. Langevin was present.

At the first there was little said by him, save the assurance of his own good will to that cause.

About the time of the second meeting, I think before it took place, I had an interview with Sir John in Mr. Langevin's presence, when I told Sir John that I found myself in duty bound so far from entering his administration as to declare to him that I would not continue to give the Government the same support I had formerly done, if I had not some assurance which could be given to the parties interested, that the amnesty would be shortly asked by the Canadian Government of the Imperial Government. Sir John then told me, "Masson, not only will you not go into opposition, but you will before long be one of us" (meaning the Ministers.)

The interview was extremely short.

At the second meeting of the French supporters of the Government, Mr. Langevin said that he was authorized by Sir John Macdonald to say that he (Sir John) was going to England, and would settle the question in the sense of an amnesty. This is my recollection of what took place, though I cannot be absolutely certain. Langevin added that if this was not done he would resign, substantially on the terms he has used in his examination.

Subsequently I had conversations with Sir John and also with Langevin, and each of these gentlemen in these conversations informed me that Sir John was going to England, and that they would recommend the settling of the question in the sense of an amnesty, and in fact it was beyond doubt from what each of them said, that this was to be the line of action.

L. F. R. MASSON.

COMMITTEE ROOM,  
21st May, 1874.

Joseph James Hargrave being examined, deposed as follows:—

I went to the Red River country in 1861, and have resided there ever since at Fort Garry.

I came out as a clerk in the service of the Hudson's Bay Company, and my special work was to act as Secretary to Governor Dallas; afterwards to Governor McTavish, and from time to time for Mr. D. A. Smith when Governor.

I believe that the Red River troubles were in the most general sense attributable to the anticipation of the union with Canada, which was thought to be adverse to the interests of the French half-breeds; and to the fact that the Government of the Hudson's Bay Company after a long period of growing weakness was at last moribund.

The power which kept the movement together was the power of the priesthood; but for which the component elements would probably have become separated.

The half-breeds were afraid of the change and dreaded that the influx of population would drive them west.

The country had from time to time since 1863 been in a very disturbed position.

Gaol-breakings had occurred, and to this day nothing has been done to punish the guilty parties.

No notice being taken of such serious matters a feeling of lawlessness grew up, and the authorities themselves became I think impressed with a feeling of their inability to carry out the law in case they were at any time opposed by any important section of the community.

There were a number of emigrants from Canada settled among the half-breeds, forming a floating population which used language towards the half-breeds highly calculated to disquiet them, leading them to understand that their time in the territory was at an end.

The mind of the population had got thus into a state of excitement, and I am for these reasons inclined to the belief that even apart from the priestly element to which I have referred, there would have been some disturbance.

The half-breeds regarded the country to a great extent as theirs; and in this view of their right they stopped the surveys even where these were going on in places beyond the two-miles limit.

I think there was no apprehension in the minds of the half-breeds as to the two-miles limit, but I think they had a strong apprehension with reference to the lands outside these limits, and to this feeling the disturbance was I think largely due.

They objected to the whole survey. There were also many irregular acts on the part of those engaged on the works, and these evoked much feeling. Some persons laid claim, and attempted to take possession by ploughing round them, of large tracts of land claimed by the old settlers.

I produce extracts from a letter from the late Governor McTavish to the Secretary of State, dated 14th May, 1870, which I have reason to believe was never delivered owing to the Governor's death, but which contains under his hand some statements as to the causes of the troubles.

I also produce extracts from a letter in my custody, from Judge Black to Mr. Smith bearing on the causes of the troubles.\*

I believe that had Governor McTavish been in such health that he could leave his house, he would, in spite of everything, have been able so to exert his influence as to break up the affair.

It was the intention of Governor McTavish to go up to bring in Mr. McDougall, and it was the state of his health that prevented this.

There was a wide spread feeling of discontent because the territory had been transferred without any communication with the people.

\* The Committee upon examination of the two above named documents or letters decided not to admit them as evidence, they not bearing sufficiently upon the subject matter referred to the committee.

This was a feeling which existed more especially among the French, though it was shared in a very minor degree by the English. Still the English were dissatisfied because of the unceremonious nature of the transaction.

The result in my opinion was, that the English would have remained passive, not taking up arms for the Canadians or for the French either.

J. J. HARRISON

COMMITTEE ROOM,

21st May, 1874.

John Stoughton Dennis being examined, deposed as follows:—

I arrived on 20th August, 1869, at Red River, in charge of the intended survey, to take place under the direction of the Government of Canada; and it was part of my duty to report on the best place of survey.

I have little doubt that the primary causes of the outbreak were an uneasy feeling in the minds of the people as to the form of government that was likely to be established, and a general fear and anxiety that their interests might be sacrificed, inasmuch as there had been no previous communication with them with a view to ascertaining the exact political situation and forming a system of government appropriate to the country. The French half-breeds were evidently jealous of the action of the Hudson's Bay Company with regard to the transfer of the territory, and they protested against any transfer of the territory unless they shared in the payment.

This feeling was participated in to a certain extent by the other classes of the inhabitants, namely, the English half-breeds and the Canadian settlers.

Before I reached the territory, I was told there was an uneasy feeling. I at once mixed with the people in the course of my duty, and within the first fortnight I learned from my interviews with the people the condition of feeling I have described.

I have nothing further to add to this statement relative to the causes of the outbreak or the circumstances connected therewith, beyond what may be found in the Seasonal Papers of 1870, excepting this, that about the 1st day of October, 1869, I was waited upon at my office in Winnipeg by a gentleman who announced himself as Mr. Riel, who stated that he had come to see me, as representing the Canadian Government, to know what were their intentions with regard to the extinction of the Indian title, and the disposition of the lands occupied by the settlers. He said that having some education, his brethren the French half-breeds who were in a state of great excitement, being in ignorance of what was going to be done with the country, had requested him to see me, and obtain explanations. I told him I was glad to see him especially upon that mission, and explained to him thoroughly that the people need be under no misapprehension whatever as to their being deprived of their lands, that the intention of the Canadian Government was to survey all the lands occupied and to give the parties in possession of lands Crown lands free, and that steps would be taken almost immediately to extinguish the Indian title to the lands upon equitable terms. This policy I had been authorized and instructed to make public, on my arrival in the settlement, and I so told Mr. Riel. He expressed himself pleased and satisfied, and said it would be his duty and pleasure to make it known to his people. I thanked him for the straight forward course he had taken in coming to see me for information, and he took his leave.

He did not, however, act in accordance with the promises made to me, as Mr. John McTavish informed me on the Sunday afternoon following my interview with Riel, that he (Riel) had been haranguing the people at the church door in St. Boniface, that afternoon, inviting them to organize and prevent the Canadian Government coming in until their just claims were recognized and settled. The following week Riel stopped the surveying party from proceeding with their work.

I am not aware of any Canadians or others attempting to take up lands improperly, beyond the following: I was told by Dr. Schultz that a short time previous to my arrival in the country that he and Mr. Snow had staked out and bought from the Indians, lands

the French half-breeds laid claim to the same way. I did not know whether these lands were settled upon.

There were certain lands granted out by Governor and Council in the Colony of Mississippi, situated by the Mississippi Bay Company, and in the rear of the Village of Natchez in the Province.

Dr. S. J. D. Jones was at 1 o'clock, the lands then assigned to St. Anne's, Point de la Poudre, and the lands of the Louisiana Government, and I told him it was not a settlement. The person said he would not settle, and I would not have any for my proceedings in the matter.

Governor S. J. D. Jones, who is a very efficient man in his power of knowledge of the people, said that he was not in the position of a settlement, but that he was not a settlement, and that he would be fairly dealt with. Dr. Jones was not the person.

I have no knowledge of the matter, but I am in the reference.

J. S. DENNIS.



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## APPENDIX.

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### RETURN, AND SUPPLEMENTARY RETURNS

To an ADDRESS of the HOUSE OF COMMONS, dated 1st April, 1874;—For Copies of Proclamation dated on the 6th December, 1869, having reference to the difficulties which existed in the North-West in 1869-70, and of all Correspondence and Communications between the Dominion Government, the Government of the Province of Manitoba, and the Imperial Government, and all other Communications in the possession of the Government, having reference to the Amnesty mentioned in the said Proclamation.

By Command.

(Signed,) R. W. SCOTT,  
*Secretary of State.*

DEPARTMENT OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE,  
OTTAWA, 15th April, 1874.

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GOVERNOR'S SECRETARY'S OFFICE,  
OTTAWA, 9th April, 1874.

SIR,—With reference to the copy of an Address from the House of Commons on the subject of the Red River Insurrection, referred to me from your Department on the 4th instant, with a request to be furnished with such of the information asked for as relates to this office, I have the honor to transmit herewith, copies of the despatches and other documents enumerated in the annexed schedule.

I have the honor to be, Sir,  
Your most obedient humble servant,

H. FLETCHER,  
Governor's Secretary.

The Hon. R. W. Scott, &c., &c.,  
Secretary of State.

## FIRST RETURN SCHEDULE.

- No.  
 133. Proclamation dated 6th December, 1869.  
 134. Letter from Sir John Young to Bishop Taché, 16th February, 1870.  
 136. Despatch, Sir John Young to Earl Granville (No. 118), 30th May, 1870.  
 139. " " " (No. 149), 6th July, 1870.  
 141. " Lord Kimberly to Sir John Young (No. 205), 3rd August, 1870.  
 146. " Lord Lisgar to the Earl of Kimberly (No. 110), 24th April, 1872.  
 63a. " " " (No. 111), 25th April, 1872.  
 151. " Earl of Dufferin to Lord Kimberly (No. 144), 6th June, 1873.  
 152. " Earl of Kimberly to the Earl of Dufferin (No. 226), 24th July, 1873.  
 Printed Parliamentary Paper "Correspondence relative to the recent disturbances in the Red River Settlement" (1870.)  
 14a. Letter from Bishop Taché to Hon. J. Howe, 9th June, 1870.  
 14b. Letter from Hon. J. Howe to Bishop Taché, 4th July, 1870.  
 130. Minute of Council, 4th June, 1873.

## SUPPLEMENTARY RETURNS SCHEDULE.

132. Hon. J. Howe to Reverend Mr. Thibault, 4th December, 1869.  
 135. Sir Clinton Murdoch to Sir Frederick Rogers, 28th April, 1870.  
 137. Reverend N. J. Ritchot to the Governor General's Secretary, 20th May, 1870.  
 138. Lieutenant Colonel McNeil to Reverend N. J. Ritchot, 28th May, 1870.  
 140. James Lynch, M.D. to the Governor General, 1st July, 1870.  
 142. Lieutenant Governor Archibald to Secretary of State, 6th September, 1871.  
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 148. Lieutenant Governor Morris to Secretary of State, 16th January, 1873.  
 149. Messrs. Riel and Lepine to Lieutenant Governor Morris, 3rd January, 1873.  
 150. Hon. J. Howe to Lieutenant Governor Morris, 12th February, 1873.  
 12. Archbishop Taché to Hon. Joseph Howe, 3rd May, 1870.  
 13. " " 7th May, 1870.  
 14. Hon. Joseph Howe to Archbishop Taché, 27th May, 1870.  
 64a. Reverend N. J. Ritchot and Mr. Scott to Her Majesty the Queen, 8th February, 1872.

*NOTE.*—The following documents enumerated in the foregoing Schedule, are not printed in the Appendix, but will be found in the body of the Evidence, under the Nos. and on the pages as hereinafter given.

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No. 132.

*Hon. Joseph Howe to Reverend Mr. Thibault.*OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE PROVINCES,  
December 4th, 1869.

SIR,—Referring to the conversation held with a Committee of the Privy Council yesterday, and to your kind consent to undertake the delicate task of representing, in conjunction with Colonel de Salaberry, the views and policy of this Government to the people of the Hudson's Bay Territory, I am commanded by His Excellency the Governor General, to convey to you, in the form of instructions for your guidance, the grounds of the hope entertained here that your mission of peace and conciliation will be entirely successful.

You will not fail to direct the attention of the mixed society inhabiting the cultivated borders of the Red River and Assiniboine to the fact which comes within your daily knowledge and observation, and is patent to all the world, that in the four Provinces of this Dominion, men of all origins, creeds and complexions, stand upon one high platform of perfect equality in the eye of the Government and the law, and that no Administration could confront the enlightened public sentiment of this country which attempted to act in the North-West upon principles more restricted and less liberal than those which are firmly established here.

So far as you may have intercourse with the Indian Chiefs and people, you will be good enough to remind them that while bloody and costly Indian wars have raged, often for long periods, in different sections of the United-States, there has been no war with the Indians in any of the Provinces of British America since the conquest. For more than a century the Micmacs of Nova Scotia have lived in peace, while the rights of the Micmacs of New Brunswick have been respected. Everywhere within the Canadas the progress of settlement, while it furnished new employments to the Indians, was rendered practicable by treaties and arrangements mutually satisfactory, that have formed the secure basis of the sympathy and co-operation which have distinguished the Canadians and Indians not only since the Treaty of Paris but from the earliest exploration of the country.

It may fairly be assumed that the just and judicious treatment of the Indian tribes forms the brightest page in the history of British America. Canadians cannot afford to sully it by any ungenerous treatment of the Indians in the North-West.

That the disturbances which have taken place at and around Winnipeg and Fort Garry have grown out of vague apprehensions of danger incident to the transition state of things which the action of the Imperial Government and Parliament rendered inevitable, there is no reason to doubt.

But it is quite apparent that, underlying what is natural and pardonable in this movement, there have been agencies at work which loyal subjects cannot countenance; and that artful attempts have been made to mislead the people by the most flagrant and absurd misrepresentations. Had the Queen's Government or the Government of the Dominion imitated the rash and reckless conduct of some of those who have taken part in this disturbance there would ere this have been bloodshed and civil war in Rupert's Land, with the prospect of the flames spreading along the frontier as the fire spreads upon the prairie. Fortunately, calmer councils have prevailed both in England and at Ottawa. The Proclamation of the Queen's Representative, with copies of which you will be furnished in French and English, will convey to Her people the solemn words of their Sovereign, who, possessed of ample power to enforce Her authority, yet confides in their loyalty and affectionate attachment to Her Throne.

The instructions issued to Mr. McDougall on the 28th of September, long before there was any reason to apprehend serious opposition on the Red River, will show how utterly groundless were the suspicions and apprehensions of unfair treatment which have been widely circulated in the North-West, and to which, unfortunately, some of the Canadian newspapers, for party purposes, at times gave the mischievous colour of their

authority. You will perceive that at no time was the absurd idea entertained of ignoring the municipal and political rights of the people of the North-West. That the only two persons that Mr. McDougall was formally instructed to call to his aid were Governor McTavish and Judge Black, who were known to be universally respected, and that any subsequent selections were to be first reported here with the grounds of his belief that they stood equally high in the confidence and affection of the people.

All the Provinces of the British Empire which now enjoy representative institutions and responsible government have passed through a probationary period, till the growth of population and some political training prepared them for self-government. In the United States the territories are ruled from Washington till the time arrives when they can prove their fitness to be included in the family of States; and in the walls of Congress challenge the full measure of power and free development which American citizenship includes.

It is fair to assume that some such training as human society requires in all free countries may be useful, if not indispensable, at Red River, but of this you may be assured that the Governor General and his Council will gladly welcome the period when the Queen can confer with their entire approbation the largest measure of self-government on Her subjects in that region, compatible with the presentation of British interests on this continent, and the integrity of the empire.

I think it unnecessary to make more than a passing reference to the acts of folly and indiscretion attributed to persons who have assumed to represent the Dominion and to speak of its name, but who have acted on their own responsibility, and without the knowledge or the sanction of this Government.

In undertaking, at this inclement season of the year, so long a journey in the public service, you display, Venerable Sir, a spirit of patriotism which I am commanded to assure you is fully appreciated by the Queen's Representative and by the Privy Council.

I have, &c.,

(Signed,)

JOSEPH HOWE,

Secretary of State for the Provinces.

To the Very Reverend Mr. Thibault,  
Grand Vicar, Ottawa.

No. 133.

(Copy.)

## PROCLAMATION.

### CANADA.

By His Excellency The Right Honorable Sir John Young, Baronet, a Member of Her Majesty's Most Honorable Privy Council, Knight Grand Cross of the Most Honorable Order of the Bath, Knight Grand Cross of the Most Distinguished Order of Saint Michael and Saint George, Governor General of Canada.

To all and every the Loyal Subjects of Her Majesty the Queen, and to all to whom these presents shall come,—Greeting:—

The Queen has charged me, as Her Representative, to inform you that she has heard with surprise and regret that certain misguided persons in Her settlements on the Red River have banded themselves together to oppose, by force, the entry into Her North-Western Territories of the Officer selected to administer, in Her name, the Government when the Territories are united to the Dominion of Canada, under the authority of the late Act of the Parliament of the United Kingdom; and that those parties have also forcibly and with violence prevented others of Her loyal subjects from ingress into the country.

Her Majesty feels assured that she may rely upon the loyalty of Her subjects in the North-West, and believes that those men who have thus illegally joined together, have done so from some misunderstanding or misrepresentation.

The Queen is convinced that in sanctioning the union of the North-West Territories

with Canada, she is promoting the best interests of the residents, and at the same time, strengthening and consolidating Her North American possessions as part of the British Empire. You may judge then of the sorrow and displeasure with which the Queen views the unreasonable and lawless proceedings which have occurred.

Her Majesty commands me to state to you that she will always be ready, through me as Her Representative, to redress all well founded grievances; and that she has instructed me to hear and consider any complaints that may be made or desires that may be expressed to me as Governor General.

At the same time she has charged me to exercise all the power and authority with which she has entrusted me, in the support of order and the suppression of unlawful disturbance.

By Her Majesty's authority I do therefore assure you, that on the union with Canada, all your civil and religious rights and privileges will be respected; your properties secured to you, and your country will be governed as in the past under British Laws and in the spirit of British Justice.

I do further, under Her authority, entreat and command those of you who are still assembled and banded together in defiance of Law, peaceably to disperse and return to your homes under the penalties of the Law in case of disobedience.

And I do lastly inform you that in case of your immediate and peaceable obedience and dispersion I shall order that no legal proceedings be taken against any parties implicated in these unfortunate breaches of the law.

Given under my hand and seal at Arms, at Ottawa, this sixth day of December, in the Year of Our Lord One thousand eight hundred and sixty-nine, and in the Thirty-third year of Her Majesty's Reign.

JOHN YOUNG.

No. 134.

*Governor General Sir John Young to Bishop Tucké.*

OTTAWA, Feb. 16th, 1870.

MY DEAR LORD BISHOP.—I am anxious to express to you before you set out, the deep sense of obligation which I feel is due to you for giving up your residence at Rome, leaving the great and interesting affairs in which you were engaged there, and undertaking at this inclement season the long voyage across the Atlantic, and long journey across this continent, for the purpose of rendering service to Her Majesty's Government, and engaging in a mission in the cause of peace and civilization. Lord Granville was anxious to avail himself of your valuable assistance from the outset, and I am heartily glad that you have proved willing to afford it so promptly and generously. You are fully in possession of the views of my Government, and the Imperial Government, as I informed you, is earnest in the desire to see the North-West Territory united to the Dominion on equitable conditions. I need not attempt to furnish you with any instructions for your guidance, beyond those contained in the telegraphic message sent me by Lord Granville on the part of the British Cabinet, in the Proclamation which I drew up in accordance with that message, and in the letters which I addressed to Governor McLaughlin, your Vicar-General, and Mr. Smith. In this last letter I wrote: "All who have complaints to make or wishes to express, to address themselves to me as Her Majesty's Representative, and you may state with the utmost confidence, that the Imperial Government has no intention of acting otherwise or permitting others to act otherwise than in perfect good faith towards the inhabitants of the Red River District and of the North-West."

"The people may rely that respect and attention will be extended to the different religious persuasions, that title to every description of property will be carefully guarded, and that all the franchises which have subsisted, or which the people may prove themselves qualified to exercise, shall be duly continued or liberally conferred."

"In declaring the desire and determination of Her Majesty's Cabinet, you may safely use the terms of the ancient formula, that right shall be done in all cases."

I wish you, my dear Lord Bishop, a safe journey, and success in your benevolent mission.

Believe me, with all respect,

Faithfully yours,  
(Signed,)

JOHN YOUNG.

Right Rev. Bishop Taché.

(Copy.)

No. 135.

*Sir Clinton Murdoch to Sir Frederick Rogers.*

OTTAWA, 28th April, 1870.

SIR,—Since my letter of 21st inst., the negotiations in connection with the Red River Territory have made considerable progress. At that date Messrs. Ritchot and Scott, two of the delegates were still in custody; but they were discharged on Monday, the 25th inst., there being in fact no legal evidence to convict them with the execution of Scott by order of Riel. Since their discharge the ministers have been in constant communication with them on the subject of the transfer of the Territory, and it is hoped that satisfactory arrangements for that purpose will be completed by the end of the week.

By the present mail the Governor General will, I believe, transmit to Earl Granville a copy of the terms proposed by the Red River delegates as the conditions of annexation to Canada. In my letter of 21st instant I referred to these terms as comprising conditions that were inadmissible. At that time I was but imperfectly acquainted with them, having only heard them read over. A subsequent examination of them has however confirmed the opinion I then expressed.

Without entering on the points that might admit of discussion, it is sufficient to notice those that are clearly inadmissible.

These are principally the 1st and 11th which would place the whole land in the Territory at the disposal of the present inhabitants, thus enabling them to prevent the construction of a Pacific Railway, and to impede the ingress of immigrants, should they desire, as is not unlikely to do so.

The 10th and 11th conditions are also inconsistent with the arrangements entered into between Her Majesty's Government and the Hudson's Bay Company, and sanctioned by Parliament. The 19th condition would secure an indemnity to Riel and his abettors for the execution of Scott, and to all others for the plunder of the Hudson's Bay Company's stores, and for other damages committed during the disturbances; concessions which this Government could not venture even if it had the power to grant; while the condition which though not contained in the terms, was conveyed to Judge Black and the other delegates in writing, that whatever was agreed to here must be subject to confirmation by "the Provisional Government," would have involved a recognition of the authority of Riel and his associates, and would have enabled him to postpone indefinitely the transfer of the Territory.

Under the circumstances there was no choice but to reject these terms, and to endeavor to arrange others that would not be open to objection.

In this task the Ministers have been engaged ever since the discharge of Messrs. Ritchot and Scott from custody, and there is every reason to believe that they will be able at once to settle conditions which the delegates, who may fairly be considered to represent the wishes and interests of the people of Red River, will be prepared to accept and which will not be inconsistent with the interests of the Dominion. If this can be effected, it will, I trust, be considered that the instructions of Her Majesty's Government conveyed to me in your letter of the 22nd ultimo, that "Troops should not be employed in forcing the Sovereignty of Canada on the population, should they refuse to admit it," have been carried out not in spirit only but in fact.

In the meantime the military arrangements have continued to advance. Earl Granville will, of course, receive from the Secretary of State for War full information on that subject. It is, I believe, the intention of General Lindsay to apply for

permission to increase the number of regular troops in the expedition, making a corresponding reduction in the local forces. No additional expense will be entailed either on the Home Government or the Dominion. On the contrary the expense may probably be reduced, while the efficiency of the expedition will be improved.

It is so important to avoid the possibility of a check that I presume the Home Government will accede to General Lindsay's proposition.

At the same time the information received from various quarters confirms the intelligence which had previously reached the Government that the disaffected party in the territory is small in numbers, and powerful only by the possession of arms and the habit of using them, that a considerable proportion, even of the French, and all the English and Scotch settlers are anxious for the union with Canada; and that no armed resistance on the part of Riel and his adherents need be apprehended. It is considered certain that Riel, on the advance of the expedition, will leave the territory and seek refuge beyond the British Dominion.

I have remained here at the desire of the Governor General, and shall continue to do so as long as His Excellency wishes it. When he thinks my presence no longer necessary I shall proceed to Toronto, Montreal and Quebec, to enquire into the arrangements for emigrants, and subsequently to New York and Washington.

I have, &c.,

(Signed,)

J. W. C. MURDOCH.

Sir F. Rogers, Bart., K.C.M.G.,  
&c., &c., &c.

No. 136.

*Sir John Young to Earl Granville.*

OTTAWA, 30th May, 1870.

MY LORD,—I have the honor to enclose a copy of a letter from the Revd. Father Ritchot, one of the delegates from the Red River settlement, forwarding a Petition to the Queen with a request that I would transmit to Your Lordship for presentation to Her Most Gracious Majesty, and also a copy of the reply which I caused to be sent to Father Ritchot's request.

I have, &c.,

(Signed,)

JOHN YOUNG.

The Right Honorable  
Earl Granville, K. G.,  
&c., &c., &c.

No. 137.

*Enclosure in Sir John Young's Despatch of 30th May, 1870.*

OTTAWA, 26th May, 1870.

SIR,—I have the honor herewith to forward to you a petition to Her Most Gracious Majesty, with a request that His Excellency the Governor General may be pleased to transmit to the Right Honorable the Secretary of State for the Colonies, with a view to its being laid at the foot of the Throne for the favorable consideration of Her Majesty.

I have, &c.,

(Signed,)

N. J. RITCHOT.

The Governor's Secretary.

[For Father Ritchot's Petition, dated 26th May, 1870, see page 75.]

No. 138.

(Copy.)

*Lieut.-Col. McNeil to Rev. Father Ritchot.*

OTTAWA, 28th May, 1870.

SIR,—I beg leave to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 26th instant, addressed to Mr. Turville, who is absent, conveying the request that the petition to the

Queen, which it accompanied, may be laid at the foot of the Throne for the favorable consideration of Her Majesty; and in reply, I am directed by the Governor General to inform you that he will not fail to transmit the petition in due course to Earl Granville for presentation to Her Most Gracious Majesty.

I have, &c.,  
(Signed,)

J. C. McNEIL,  
Lieutenant-Colonel,  
Military Secretary.

The Rev. Father Ritchot.

No. 139.

*Sir John Young to Earl Granville.*

NIAGARA, July 6th, 1870.

July 1st, 1870. MY LORD,—I have the honor to forward herewith a copy of a communication which I have received from Dr. James Lynch, stating certain reasons which make it, in his opinion, inexpedient to proclaim a general amnesty in favor of all connected with the recent disturbances at Red River.

I have &c.,  
(Signed,) JOHN YOUNG.

The Right Honorable,  
The Earl Granville, K. G.,  
&c., &c., &c.

No. 140.

*Dr. Lynch to the Governor General.*

QUEEN'S HOTEL,  
TORONTO, July 1, 1870.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY,—I have on several occasions had the honor of addressing Your Excellency on behalf of the loyal portion of the inhabitants of the Red River Settlement and having heard that there is a possibility of the Government favoring the granting of an amnesty for all offences, to the rebels of Red River, including Louis Riel, O'Donoghue, Lepine and others of their leaders, I feel it to be my duty on behalf of the loyal people of the Territory, to protest most strongly against an act that would be unjust to them and at the same time to place on record the reasons which we consider render such clemency not only unfair and cruel but also injudicious, impolitic and dangerous. I therefore beg most humbly and respectfully to lay before Your Excellency on behalf of those whom I represent, the reasons which lead us to protest against the leaders of the rebellion being included in an amnesty, and for which we claim they should be excluded from its effects.

1. A general amnesty would be a serious reflection on the loyal people of Red River Settlement who, throughout this whole affair, have shewn a true spirit of loyalty and devotion to their Sovereign and to British institutions. Months before Mr. McDougall left Canada it was announced that he had been appointed Governor. He had resigned his seat in the Cabinet, and had addressed his constituents prior to his departure. The people of the Settlement had read these announcements, and on the publication of his Proclamation in the Queen's name, with the Royal Arms at its head, they had every reason to consider that the Queen herself called for their services.

These services were given cheerfully, they were enrolled in the Queen's name to put down a rising that was a rebellion that was trampling under foot all law and order and preventing British subjects from entering or passing through British territory. For this they were imprisoned for months, for this they were robbed of all they possessed, and for this—the crime of obeying the call of his Sovereign—one true-hearted loyal Canadian was cruelly and foully murdered. An amnesty to the perpetrators of these outrages by our Government we hold to be a serious reflection on the conduct of the loyal inhabitants and a condemnation of their loyalty.



2. It is an encouragement of rebellion; Riel was guilty of treason when he refused permission to Mr. McDougall, a British subject, to enter British territory, and drove him away by force of arms; he set law at defiance, and committed an open act of rebellion. He also knew that Mr. McDougall had been nominated Governor, knew that he had resigned his seat in the Cabinet, knew that he had bid farewell to his constituents, yet he drove him out by force of arms; and when the Queen's proclamation was issued—for all he knew by the Queen's authority—he tore it up, scattered the type used in printing it, defied it, and imprisoned, robbed and murdered those whose only crime in his eyes was that they had obeyed it.

It may be said that Riel knew that Mr. McDougall had no authority to issue a proclamation in the Queen's name; a statement of this kind would lead to the inference that it was the result of secret information, and of a conspiracy among some in high positions. This had sometimes been suspected by many, but hitherto has never been believed. An amnesty to Riel and other leaders would be an endorsement of their acts of treason, robbery, and murder, and therefore an encouragement to rebellion.

3. An amnesty is injudicious, impolitic and dangerous if it includes the leaders—some of these who have been robbed and imprisoned—who have seen their comrade and fellow prisoner led out and butchered in cold-blood, seeing the law powerless to protect the innocent and punish the guilty, might in that wild spirit of justice called vengeance, take the life of Riel or some other of the leaders. Should this unfortunately happen, the attempt by means of law to punish the avenger would be attended with serious difficulty, and would not receive the support of the loyal people of the Territory, of the Canadian emigrants who will be pouring in, or of the people of the older Provinces—trouble would arise and further disturbances break out in the settlement. It would be argued with much force that Riel had murdered a loyal man for no crime but his loyalty, and that he was pardoned, and that when a loyal man taking the law into his own hands executed a rebel and a murderer in vengeance for a murder, he would be still more entitled to a pardon, and the result would be that the law could not be carried out when the enforcement of the law would be an outrage to the sense of justice to the community. The law would be treated with contempt. A full amnesty will produce this result, and bitter feuds and a legacy of internal discussion entailed upon the country for years to come.

4. It will destroy all confidence in the administration of law and maintenance of order; there could be no feeling of security for life, liberty or property, in a country where treason, murder, robbery, and other crimes had been openly perpetrated, and afterwards condoned and pardoned sweepingly by the highest authorities.

6. The proceedings of the insurgent leaders, previous to the attempt of Mr. McDougall to enter the Territory as well as afterwards, led many to expect that Riel and his associates were in collusion with certain persons holding high official positions, although suspected it could not be believed. An amnesty granted now including every one would confirm these suspicions, preclude the possibility of disputing them, and leave a lasting distrust in the honor and good faith of the Canadian Government.

In respectfully submitting these arguments for Your Excellency's most favorable consideration, I wish Your Excellency to understand that it is not the object of this protest to stand in the way of an amnesty to the great mass of the rebels, but to provide against the pardon of the ringleaders those designing men who have inaugurated and kept alive the difficulties and disturbances in the Red River settlement, and who have led on their innocent dupes from one step to another in the commission of crime by false statements and by appealing to their prejudices and passions.

I have, &c.,

(Signed,) —JAMES LYNCH.

To His Excellency

Sir John Young, G. C. B., G. C. M. G.,  
&c., &c., &c.

No. 141.

*Lord Kimberley to Sir John Young.*

DOWNING STREET, 3rd August, 1870.

SIR,—I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your despatch, No. 149, of the 6th July, enclosing a copy of a letter addressed to you by Dr. James Lynch, in which he states the reasons which in his opinion make it inexpedient that a general amnesty should be proclaimed in favor of all those who were concerned in the recent disturbances at Red River.

I have, &c.,  
(Signed) . KIMBERLEY.

Governor-General

The Right Honorable

Sir John Young, Bart., G.C.B.

No. 142.

*Lieut-Governor Archibald to the Secretary of State for the Provinces.*

(Copy.)

GOVERNMENT HOUSE,

SILVER HEIGHTS, September 6th, 1871.

SIR,—I have the honor to enclose you a memorial signed by ~~some~~ one hundred of the French half-breed inhabitants of Manitoba, in which the petitioners allege, among other things, that at the time of the arrangements made in the spring of 1870, for the settlement of the troubles then existing in this Province, the delegates from Red River were formally promised that no half-breed or other inhabitant of the Province should be molested in respect of any part he had taken in the movement here—a promise, they say, confirmed by the Government of Canada and reiterated on the part of the British Government by Sir Clinton Murdoch, and praying that I should take such action in respect of the memorial, either by acting myself or transmitting it to the proper authorities, as would put an end to the apprehension and uneasiness occasioned by the failure of the Government of Canada to fulfill the promises alleged to have been made.

The memorial was presented to me by Mr. Beauchemin, Member of the Provincial Parliament for St. Vital, on behalf of himself and the other Members of a Committee named to deliver it to me. Enclosed you will find a copy of the paper accompanying the memorial.

I have explained to Mr. Beauchemin that I have no personal knowledge of any such promises having been made, but that I should transmit the memorial to Ottawa to be brought before His Excellency, the Governor General, at as early a day as possible.

I have therefore to request you to submit the same to His Excellency, and to be favored with as little delay as possible with the answer which I am to give to the petitioners, and with instructions to govern my action in the other matters referred to in the memorial.

I have the honor to be, Sir,

Your obedient servant,

(Signed,) ADAMS G. ARCHIBALD.

The Honorable

The Secretary of State.

For the Provinces.

No. 143.

*Secretary of State for the Provinces to Lieutenant-Governor Archibald.*

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE PROVINCES,

OTTAWA, 22nd September, 1871.

SIR,—I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your despatch, No. 266, of the 6th instant, enclosing a memorial presented to you by certain of the French half-breeds of the Province of Manitoba, praying that the necessary measures may be taken to relieve

them from the consequences of any part they may have taken in the disturbances at Red River in the winter of 1869-70.

The memorial will be submitted for the early consideration of the Government.

I have the honor to be, Sir,

Your obedient servant,

(Signed,) GRANT POWELL,

For the Under Secretary of State  
For the Provinces.

The Honorable A. G. Archibald,  
Lieut.-Governor,  
Fort Garry.

No. 144.

*Beauchemin, Bruce and Lepine to Lieutenant-Governor Archibald.*

(Translation.)

ST. NORBERT, 25th July, 1871.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY,—We have the honor to inform you that we have been instructed by the persons who have signed the Petition, herewith enclosed, to forward the said Petition to you, and we request that permission be granted us to present it to Your Excellency, in the confidence and hope that Your Excellency will do justice in the premises.

We have the honor to be,

Your Excellency's most humble

And obedient servants,

(Signed,)

ANDRÉ BEAUCHEMIN,  
HERMINIGILDE BRUCE,  
MAXIME LEPINE.

To His Excellency

The Honorable A. G. Archibald,  
Lieut.-Governor of Manitoba.

No. 145.

To His Excellency

The Honorable Adams G. Archibald,  
Lieutenant Governor of Manitoba.

The Petition of the undersigned, Metis and others, inhabitants of Manitoba, respectfully sheweth:—

That at the time when the arrangements were concluded at Ottawa in the spring of 1870, between the Government of Canada and the delegates from the North-West, with reference to the entry into the Canadian Confederation of the colony of the Red River and the North-West Territory, it was expressly understood and concluded, and formally promised on the part of the Government of Canada, represented in the said arrangements by Sir John A. Macdonald, Minister of Justice, and Sir George E. Cartier, Minister of Militia, that no Metis or other inhabitant of the Red River country should be in any way troubled or annoyed for having taken part in any way in the movement and political difficulties which had taken place several months previously between certain contending parties in the said colony of Red River.

That that promise was explicit on the part of the Ministers above mentioned, specially authorized by the Ottawa Cabinet to treat with the delegates from the North-West,—that it was ratified and declared anew by the Government of Canada as a body, and by Sir Clinton Murdoch, then appointed by England, and sent to Ottawa in order to settle the aforesaid difficulties, in the name of the Imperial Government, in case the Dominion Government and the delegates from the North-West might not be able to come to an understanding.

That further, the right of the Metis not to be molested in consequence of that movement was undeniably established by the very fact that the Dominion Government,

authorized and directed to that end by the Imperial Government, negotiated with the delegates.

The result of those negotiations and agreements was the Manitoba Act, which is based upon the demands of the Metis and inhabitants of the North-West, presented to the Government of Canada by the above-mentioned delegates.

That your petitioners wish to point out that the people of the Red River country, who also negotiated with the Canadian Government by means of their delegates, have conformed exactly and in every respect to the conditions contained in the arrangements concluded at that time; and in consequence, they have a right to claim the fulfilment of the promises which were then made to them.

That your petitioners have been credibly informed that warrants of arrest have issued against some of the persons who took part in the above mentioned movement, and that for acts committed during the movement by reason of the movement, and in connection with the movement itself.

That your petitioners consider that these warrants of arrest are irregular and unjust, inasmuch as they are contrary to the stipulations contained in the arrangements and in violation of the promises made on this head.

That the issuing of these warrants of arrest, although they have not yet been executed, creates much uneasiness among the people, threatens the security of the citizens, and, consequently, public order in general.

That the primary cause of these difficulties arises from doubts existing in various quarters concerning this question; certain persons believing that they have the right to issue warrants of this nature, and your petitioners being well convinced that their issue is unjust and irregular for the reasons above mentioned.

That this uneasiness and these apprehensions, as well as the mistrust which results from them, may lead to deplorable consequences. That your petitioners think that it would be desirable to bring to an end as soon possible this doubt and these fears which cause a want of confidence to exist between the various parties of the people.

For these reasons your petitioners address themselves to Your Excellency, and beg that you will take what you may deem the most urgent measures, either by your own immediate action or by committing the matter to whose charge it rightly belongs, in order to bring to an end as soon possible this uneasiness and these apprehensions, and prevent the consequences which may arise therefrom; and your petitioners furthermore apply to Your Excellency to know whether the promises which were made to them in this matter will be carried out; and in order that Your Excellency may state whether warrants of arrest, of the nature above mentioned, are authorized and whether they can be executed, seeing that they are in direct violation of the arrangements concluded and promises made at Ottawa as above mentioned; your petitioners take the further liberty of asking Your Excellency whether the Government of Manitoba has received any instructions on this subject from the Government at Ottawa?

And your petitioners beg for justice, and will ever pray.

(Signed,)

PIERRE FALCON, D.

And five hundred and forty (540) others.

ST. FRANÇOIS XAVIER,  
1st July, 1871.

No. 146.

*Lord Lisgar to the Earl of Kimberley.*

April 24th, 1872.

MY LORD,—I have the honor to forward herewith an Address to Her Majesty the 5th February, 1872. Queen from the Legislative Council and Legislative Assembly of the Province of Manitoba.

The Address adverts to the serious troubles which took place at the Red River, and prays that the Legislature of Manitoba may be made acquainted with the action

already taken or which it may be Her Majesty's pleasure to take, with the view of satisfying justice and the best interests of the country.

I have, &c.,

(Signed)

1872.

The Earl of Kimberley,  
&c., &c.

No. 147.

To the Queen's Most Excellent Majesty.

MOST GRACIOUS SOVEREIGN.—We, Your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Legislative Council and Legislative Assembly of the Province of Manitoba, in Legislative Session assembled, desire to approach Your Majesty for the purpose of representing—

That during the period intervening between the passing of the *Provisional Act* for the temporary government of Rupert's Land and the North-West Territories, when the same should be united to Canada, and the date when the union actually took place, very serious troubles occurred in the country now known as the Province of Manitoba.

That Your Majesty's Imperial Government is the only authority competent to deal with this grave question, and that, in the interests of peace and good order, it is highly desirable but requisite that steps should be taken to settle, and set at rest, all questions connected with such troubles.

We, therefore, humbly pray Your Majesty to be graciously pleased, by and with the advice of Your Majesty's Most Honorable Privy Council, to command that this Legislature be made acquainted with the action already taken, or which it may be Your Majesty's Royal pleasure to take, with the view of satisfying justice and the best interests of this country.

We take this opportunity of assuring Your Majesty of our devotion and attachment to Your Majesty's Person and Throne.

(Signed)

SIR W. McLEAY,

Speaker of the Legislative Council.

(Signed)

S. FORTAL,

Speaker of the Legislative Assembly.

Legislative Buildings,

Winnipeg, February 5, 1872.

No. 148.

Lieut.-Governor Morris to the Secretary of State for the Provinces.

GOVERNMENT HOUSE,

PORT CARROLL, January 19th, 1872.

SIR,—I have the honor to enclose you a copy of a document which was handed to me under cover, addressed to Lieut.-Governor of Manitoba, by A. Macdonald, Esq., M.P., on the 10th instant.

I have, &c.,

(Signed)

ALAN MORRIS.

The Honorable

The Secretary of State for the Provinces,  
Ottawa.

No. 149.

Messrs. Riel and Lepine to Lieut.-Governor Morris.

(Translation.)

To His Excellency

The Lieut.-Governor of Manitoba.

YOUR EXCELLENCY,—The Government at Ottawa, from the course it has pursued in a matter affecting us, seems disposed to throw upon us the entire responsibility of the

condition which will pass away in 1899-1900. The truth, nevertheless, is that during the whole of this time, we have been compelled to defend ourselves against our own oppressors.

The journey was from Ottawa in the winter of 1857-58, to survey the road from the Lake of the Huron, westward, during which I obtained at Point de la Plume a strong hostility to the old inhabitants of the region. I was afterwards as to endeavor to obtain possession of the real portion of the property of the establishment of St. Abe, by inducing them to a belief of good which they purchased they had purchased from the Indians. It was the report of the hostility of the Indians, in the commencement of the journey, which induced them to sell their furs and skins by selling them intoxicating liquors to the Indians.

The following winter Mr. D. J. O'Brien, French, presented himself among us as surveyor of the land of the settlement, and was appointed to the survey. The Company itself purchased supplies from him, and Mr. D. J. O'Brien commenced his operations on the basis of private property, and, relying on their common law rights, remonstrated against with the Company, and he found his way out from their hands.

Meanwhile, it had become known that an unknown person was communicating with the Governor with a view to the seizure of the property of the settlement, and that he was taking steps to bring in with him, as part of his military baggage, a large quantity of arms and ammunition.

Several Indians were recently arrived in the country, partisans of Snow and Dennis, by whom many of them were surprised, and they had come in advance of Mr. McDougall, on his arrival, and that they were ready to support him by force of arms.

Some thirty armed men, however, were in the settlement. A large portion of the men were having important business as a "National Committee" went to meet Mr. McDougall, and were by now assembling a group in which they told him not to enter the settlement until he had come to an understanding with them. On receiving the message the French Canadian Governor expressed his contemptuous and insulting feelings, and without making any effort to inquire into the grounds of his prohibition of so large a portion of the inhabitants of the settlement which he was going to govern. On the following day he entered the Province, and proceeded to Fort George, with a force of soldiers, and a number of the men of the settlement. The soldiers (Canadian) were then in a very hostile attitude, and they talked of taking Fort George. The knowledge of this scheme, which we were afraid would be carried out, induced us to the idea of taking the fort, and we endeavored to keep Mr. McDougall as a hostage, in order that his party, which were so hostile to our interest, might not, under some circumstances, get possession of the Government of our native country.

On the 15th November twenty-four deputies from the whole settlement met in the Great Hall, for the purpose of voting on the matter, and adopting means to improve the state of affairs, which they had become more complicated. During the 17th November the Convention assembled in evening in order to allow the Courts to hold the usual sittings. The opposite party were, in the meantime, making every effort with Mr. McDougall to persuade him to use his authority to proclaim the subversion of the Government of the Company. Mr. McDougall assumed the responsibility on the 1st December, and on the same day in which he threw the settlement into anarchy, he took upon himself the responsibility of openly declaring war against us.

For several years we were defending ourselves against the servants of the Canadian Government. But inasmuch as they attacked us illegally, our defence was not a rebellion. Sir John A. Macdonald, in a report of the Privy Council of the 15th December, 1869, told the Governor General that the resistance we made was not directed against Her Majesty, nor against the British, but against the Company.

The demand, however, that the existing Government was abolished by Mr. McDougall's proclamation, the urgent law of necessity compelling us to look to our own safety, we proclaimed on the 20th December, the formation of a Provisional Government,

with the object simply of protecting our lives and property. On the 24th December, 1869, the Secretary of State for the Provinces stated officially to Mr. McDougall that our Government (the proclamation having set aside Governor McTavish) were in effect the only Government in the settlement. The Government, were it not then legal? Sir John, in his report already referred to, says that the Government, considering the circumstances which gave it birth, had legal existence. Most certainly, for we had the law of nations on our side.

The Canadian Commissioners, the Rev. Mr. Thibault and Colonel de Salaberry, who came into the settlement towards the end of December, did not hesitate to recognize the Provisional Government. In the month of January, 1870, a large meeting of the inhabitants of the settlement was held at Fort Garry, to ascertain the character of the mission of Mr. Donald A. Smith, a Commissioner specially sent out by the Government at Ottawa. This large meeting ordered a Convention of forty delegates to examine more in detail Mr. Smith's commission, and to decide as to what should be done in the interests of the country. The Convention discussed what should be the terms of our union with Canada.

They received an invitation from the three Commissioners (Messrs. Thibault, de Salaberry and Smith), in the name of Canada, to send a deputation to Ottawa. The invitation was accepted. Then the Convention immediately confirmed, by a unanimous vote, in the name of the whole country, the Provisional Government, which up to that time had only been sustained by a portion of the citizens. Many of the British delegates to the Convention were led to vote in this way by the late Mr. McTavish, who, being consulted by them, entreated them for the sake of order and peace to accept the Government. This public determination met with some opponents. They misunderstood the wish of the Convention; and with a view to overthrow it, seven or eight hundred persons met at Killdoran, with arms, in a disorderly assembly, made up of Indians and white men. Schultz was there with all his influence (ascendant). Parisien, one of his partisans whom we had taken prisoner, escaped from us and rejoined his party, who made him prisoner at Killdoran. In attempting to escape Parisien killed a man. His own people beat him unmercifully in turn. The following day forty-eight men of this murderous gang passed near Winnipeg in military guise. Their march was interrupted by the soldiers of the Provisional Government, to whom they surrendered their arms unconditionally.

The officer in command of the company was condemned to death and was about to be executed, but Mr. Smith interceded for him and obtained his pardon on condition that he himself should visit all the English parishes, and use his influence to re-establish order.

Mr. Smith, having secured for the Provisional Government the good-will and support of all the English population, we thought only of forwarding the important work of the delegation which we had decided to send to Ottawa to agree with the Ministry as to our entering into Confederation, when we found ourselves confronted by a new conspiracy to prevent the delegates from leaving, to excite the masses in Ontario against us and to prevent us from coming to an understanding with the Canadian Government.

Such were the ideas which at this juncture animated the principal agents of all our troubles; they used every effort in their power. The result was that the inhabitants of Portage la Prairie wrote to the President of the Provisional Government that they had indeed all consented at the request of the Canadian Commissioner, Mr. Smith, to recognize the Provisional Government, but that they had so done solely to fulfil the conditions necessary to secure Boulton's life, and that they only waited for an opportunity to withdraw themselves from the authority of the Provisional Government.

The Indians of the entire country—those below Fort de Pierre and those at the Portage, who were apparently the most excited—seemed ready to threaten the country with one of their attacks. Even the prisoners who were kept at Fort Garry, having had wind of these plottings outside and being encouraged by them, were hurried on to acts of extreme violence. Many of them, notably Mr. McLeod and T. Scott, beat their prison

insulted, and went so far as to strike their guards, inviting their fellow-prisoners also to insult them.

Seeing then that a punishment, long deserved and terrible, could alone restrain these excited men, and finding ourselves compelled to avert evil with which we were threatened by the inhabitants of the Portage conspiring with the Indians—in a word to secure the triumph of peace and order which it was our duty to establish throughout the settlement, we had recourse to the full authority of Government.

Consider the circumstances; let the motives be weighed; if there were a single act of severity, one must not lose sight of the long course of moderate conduct which gives us the right to say that, during our troubles of 1869-70, we sought to disarm, rather than fight, the lawless strangers who were making war against us.

We succeeded in establishing quiet. We availed ourselves of it to hurry the departure of our delegates, who repaired at once to Ottawa.

Schultz, Mair, Lynch, Monkman and others made capital no doubt of the affair which took place here on the 4th March, to intensify in Ontario the agitation which it was their object to excite there in their own favor, and against the delegates from the North-West. But they were now powerless to effect their object. In silencing our intestine quarrels, as we had at length succeeded in doing, the Provisional Government had become the master of the position here, and consequently the only one who could send delegates to Ottawa.

Lynch and others endeavored, notwithstanding, to pass themselves off for the true and only delegates of the North-West. Their attempt failed. The Canadian Government received our delegates officially. Sir John and Sir George being named for that purpose by the Dominion Government, treated with Messrs. Black, Rev. Mr. Ritchot, and Alfred Scott, who had received from the President of the Provisional Government their nomination and their commissions as delegates.

The articles of agreement included twenty different clauses, the nineteenth of which is as follows:

"That all the debts contracted by the Provisional Government of the North-West in reference to the illegal and rash measures which the servants of the Dominion Government had taken to throw us into a civil war, should be paid in full by the treasury of the Dominion, and that none of the members of the Provisional Government, or any person acting under their orders, should be in any way molested or have to answer for having taken part in the movement, or for anything which had led to the present negotiations."

This condition our delegates laid down as a *sine qua non*. Sir John and Sir George accepted it, but our delegates asked for guarantees. The two ministers replied that the condition was effectually guaranteed by the very fact that a friendly understanding existed between Canada and the North-West. The delegates replied that they required, notwithstanding undeniable proofs as to this point, to satisfy those whose interests they were protecting; whereupon Sir John and Sir George did not hesitate to say that upon this point they were in a position to satisfy the delegates.

They then proceeded to frame the Manitoba Bill. Before its introduction to the Legislature, our delegates urged the necessity of now having the guarantee for the 19th clause. They referred the matter to the Governor General, who assured them that the delegates would be satisfied in their demands as soon as the two Houses had passed the Manitoba Bill.

Sir Clinton Murchison, the special delegate of Her Majesty the Queen to watch over our arrangements with the Canadian Government, also assured the delegates that they would be fully satisfied. When the Bill was sanctioned by both Houses, our delegates called the attention of the Government to the fact that the time was now come to put them in possession of the guarantees in reference to the 19th clause. The Governor General, however, understanding the anxiety of the inhabitants of the North-West during all this time, requested the delegates to hurry their return to their own people, in order to explain to them as soon as possible the arrangements they had made with the Canadian Government, at the same time assuring the delegates that the Government would take means



before their arrival in the North-West to send the guarantee that no person should be molested or held responsible for anything relating to the recent troubles.

The delegates, although feeling satisfied from the repeated and positive assurances of such exalted personages, expressed nevertheless their fears that the people of the settlement would not thus be satisfied, and they consulted Sir Clinton Murdoch on the matter. The Commissioner of Her Majesty argued that it ought to be sufficient for the delegates and for the inhabitants of the North-west that the assurance had been given by the highest representative of Her Majesty; that upon this question as upon all the rest of the arrangements they should be satisfied.

In order to complete these arrangements, the delegates asked the Ministers authorized to negotiate with them whether Canada would appoint any one to administer the affairs of the North-West after the transfer and before the arrival of the Lieutenant-Governor. The Ministers replied definitely: "No; let Riel and his Council continue to maintain order and peace until the arrival of the Lieutenant-Governor."

The delegates returned to Fort Garry on the 17th June, 1870. They made their official report to the representatives of the entire settlement on the 24th June. The latter ratified in the House by a unanimous vote, the work of the delegates and the Provisional Government notified the Honorable the Secretary of State for the Provinces that the people of the country by their representatives had consented to enter into the Canadian Confederation.

The despatch was placed in the hands of His Lordship the Bishop of St. Boniface, who had worked so diligently to effect a reconciliation between the two countries. His Lordship went himself to place this despatch in the hands of the Canadian Government, and we felt assured that the arrangements would be carried out as concluded. We continued to devote ourselves to the maintenance of peace and order until the 15th July following, after the transfer of this country to the Dominion, until the arrival of the troops on the 24th of August, 1870, in order to prevent confusion and anarchy, and in accordance with the expressed wish of the Ministers at the close of the arrangements with the delegates.

We remained at Fort Garry, exercising the authority which the people had previously entrusted to us, waiting to withdraw only till a competent authority should come amongst us to assume the functions of Government.

In place of treating us as friends as the law of nations entitled us to be, Wolseley entered the Province as an enemy, and as a return for the care which we had taken of the Province and of the Territory of the North-West, from the moment of its transfer, he gave up to pillage everything in the Fort belonging to us.

He hurried away to prison, and allowed to be ill-treated by his soldiers, peaceable and respectable citizens. The commander of this expedition (of peace and civilization) when leaving for Canada, publicly branded as bandits the political friends of the President of the Provisional Government with whom the Canadian Government has been negotiating,—and that Government which had only existed for the maintenance of order and peace in spite of exceptional difficulties.

Wolseley thus revived in our midst the unfortunate animosities, which for some months had begun to be allayed, and which our friendly understanding with Canada contributed much to diminish, and which the Canadian Government itself, by its faithful execution of its agreement with us, could not have failed still further to decrease.

The conduct of Wolseley was a real calamity. It produced its victims. One of our co-patriots, a man in much esteem in consequence of his public service during our troubles, and who, on two or three occasions, in moments of great difficulty, had materially contributed to prevent the Indians from commencing their savage hostilities against the whites, Elzéar Goulet, to whom our understanding with Canada gave confidence in spite of the unfortunate arrival of Wolseley, returns to Winnipeg. There in noon-day in the heart of the town four men rushed on him. Goulet seeks protection in vain. The four men pursued and killed him. Of these, two were militia men, and were not in any way interfered with in consequence of what they did. The other two continued to show

themselves in the town, and have lived there since in impunity under the eye of the authorities at Portage.

Tanner also was killed by men sharing Wolseley's feelings. The murder was also left unpunished.

The inhabitants of the settlement generally have been attacked in their persons and their property, by the majority of the emigrants, and by a large number of the men belonging to the militia.

And the Canadian authorities leave us to be crushed.

And it is thus they expect to heal the wounds caused by the troubles of 1869-'70, troubles which Lord Granville in his dispatch to the Governor General, of 30th November, 1869, says were brought about by the conduct of the Canadian Government.

Since the 24th August, 1870, we have been cajoled by the Ottawa Government, left without protection, and afterwards robbed of our liberty. Individual domestic happiness was impossible; our lives were in constant danger. What reason has the Canadian Government thus to postpone to the injury of everything that people hold dear—the fulfilment of the same promises they had given us? The Government at Ottawa could not, in the face of the whole world, evade the inauguration of the grand principle of liberty consecrated by their agreement with us and by the Manitoba Act so nobly approved by both Houses; but they took care to neglect everything else, and every day the influence of the General Government was exercised for the purpose of preventing the Local Government from discharging its duty towards us: nay, more, the fundamental principle of our Constitution was violated. The representative of the Electoral Division of St. Vital resigned his seat in the Local House voluntarily; and, in accordance with the necessary legal formalities, his constituents accept and applaud his resignation. What is the conduct of the authorities? They have already declared they refuse to accept Mr. Beauchemin's resignation. And against whom are these arbitrary acts directed? Against those who from 24th August, 1870, have in reality preserved the peace of the country, by their respect for authority, by their moderation and by their patience in submitting to the oppression under which they suffer. For if the half-breeds had used their right to defend themselves when unjustly attacked, and when the law left them unprotected, where would the Province be? Not only has our conduct always been conformable to our arrangements with Canada, but more than this, we are loyal and devoted to the Queen. In the autumn of 1871, on the simple appeal of the Lieutenant Governor, we all were assembled to march against the Fenians at Pembina, at the very time that we were considered in Canada as a population of brigands, so that Governor Archibald knowing the danger in which we lived, was constrained, in order to give us an inducement to assist him in uniting the population, to assure us that he would use his personal authority to protect us, so long as the Province was threatened by the Fenians. We united our people with no little difficulty, endeavoring to induce them to forget the ground of their just indignation. We served the public cause—the cause of the Government. Has the Government remembered our services?—on the contrary, we would suppose the Government was angry with us. Has it not been charged as a crime against Mr. Archibald that he gave us his hand? nor did the Government come to his aid to defend his conduct against public opinion. It did not avail itself of the opportunity of doing justice to us, or of causing justice to be done to us; they even have rejected us and abandoned us to the fury of our enemies. On the 8th December following, a band of 15 men go to St. Vital, they enter like brigands at Madame Riel's house, saying that they came in the Queen's name with a warrant against Louis Riel, whom they sought everywhere with arms in their hands, upsetting everything in the house, insulting, outraging and feloniously threatening with their fire-arms the women in the house. Up to this moment these malefactors have been spared and even treated with consideration (*ménages*). In the beginning of 1872, the Proclamation of the Governor of Ontario, against the pretended murderers of Scott, was exciting trouble in Manitoba. In order not to be the occasion of violent agitation in our young and beloved Province, and for the purpose of screening the Government at Ottawa, who, instead of protecting us against the

Proclamation, complained that our presence in the Province gave the opposition a pretext and power against us, we agreed to leave the country for a time. We then went to reside at St. Paul's. A member of the Federal Parliament, trampling all justice under his feet, came to disturb us in our exile. On the 17th of March, he formed and began to carry out, in the very capital of Minnesota, a conspiracy against us. His plan was to enter clandestinely into the hotel where we were living, break open our trunks, and carry off the official documents which we had respecting the troubles of '69 and '70, and respecting our agreement with the Government at Ottawa. On the 28th April, two men at St. Paul's, believing no witness near, during the night at a fire, discussed measures for taking our lives, and thus securing the \$5,000 which the Proclamation of the Governor of Ontario had offered for the pretended murderers of Scott. On the 30th April, at Breckenridge, four men, supposed to be in the service of this same honorable member, whose iniquitous machinations we had had to resist at St. Paul, watched at the door of the hotel where we were until a late hour of the night, with the intention of assassinating us if we came out. These facts are supported by affidavits of honest witnesses still living. We could cite many similar facts, but these three are sufficient to show how great an injury the policy of the Government of Canada inflicts upon us; for had it been faithful to its agreement with us, should we be thus threatened and persecuted everywhere and relentlessly? When we had sacrificed ourselves; when, through a pure spirit of moderation, in order to facilitate, as the Government hoped, the advancement of the general interests, we suppressed for a time our just demands in the presence of its necessities, should we not be treated otherwise than we now are?

During the last Federal election we think that we acted nobly in electing as we did, the Minister of Militia. Four days afterwards at St. Boniface the electors of Selkirk, in the peaceful exercise of their rights, were attacked in every possible way, even by shots, to recompense us for what we had just done in Provencher in the interest of one of the members of the Canadian Government; means were found to leave us unprotected against our enemies; and our good services, so far from being appreciated, are more than ever turned to account against ourselves.

As for these disturbers of public order, they can all, whoever they may be, move about freely and defy the law everywhere in Winnipeg. They can show themselves even in our courts of justice to the grievous scandal and alarm of honest men, merely to laugh at our laws and show clearly in the eyes of the world that we may at any moment find ourselves plunged in the horrors of anarchy. The Minister of Justice, however, at Ottawa

*(Here a page of the original M.S.S. is said to have been lost before reaching the Lieutenant-Governor of Manitoba.)*

In his public speeches and in his political harangues speaks of only one thing, hanging us because we do not devote ourselves to the defence of the interests of our Province. The Government at Ottawa is then hostile to us. We understand it. It simply wishes our ruin. To attain this object it endeavors to isolate gratuitously from the entire political situation an occurrence which forms part of it in every point of view. They desire to judge this occurrence abstractedly from all the circumstances which have brought it about, and although this occurrence was the act of a Government whose legality it had recognized by its official despatches, and by dealing with it officially with the knowledge and in sight of all the world during almost the whole of one Session of Parliament, although the occurrence was the act of a Government in the exercise of its functions endeavoring to prevent a catastrophe, defending as best it could order and peace against madmen, against declarations of war, conspiracies without end, and every kind of felony, they desire to throw the entire responsibility upon private individuals.

It is said this act has not been pardoned by the Proclamation of the Governor General during the winter of 1869 and 70. Let them tell us the day, the month, the year, when this Proclamation was published in the country, and let them explain afterwards how it happens that an amnesty is granted to the demagogues who have plotted so actively the troubles of 1869 and 70, who have brought about the assembly of men so illegally sum-

moned together at Kildonan, seeing that two murders were committed, and who to-day are allowed to fill the honorable seat of representatives of the people in the House of Commons.

The Government at Ottawa acts towards us as an enemy, inasmuch as it refuses to put in force the principles of protection which it recognized in treating with our delegates, and which it then bound itself publicly to put in force, even before taking possession of the country. This false policy on its part causes us to suffer frightfully, and has occasioned for more than two years a public strife, dangerous and inimical to the interests of the Province.

In addition to this the Ottawa Government uses such efforts against us and the free management of our local affairs, as to show clearly that its political interests are incompatible with ours. Be that as it may, it is our business to demand, and to find in Canadian Confederation, that personal security and that public liberty which we require and is our undoubted right.

(Signed,)

LOUIS RIEL,  
A. L. LEPINE.

St. Vital, Manitoba, 3rd January, 1873.

No. 150.

*Secretary of State to Lieut.-Governor Morris.*OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE PROVINCES,  
12th Feb. 1873.

SIR,—I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your confidential despatch, No. 6, of the 16th ultimo, transmitting a copy of a document signed by Louis Riel and A. L. Lepine, and handed to you by A. Beauchemin, Esq., M.P.P., on the subject of the troubles at Red River during the winter of 1869-70.

I have, &amp;c.,

(Signed,)

J. HOWE,

The Hon. A. Morris,

Lieut.-Governor,

Fort Garry.

Secretary of State for the Provinces.

No. 151.

*The Earl of Dufferin to the Earl of Kimberley.*

OTTAWA, June 6th, 1873.

MY LORD,—I have the honor to transmit herewith an approved Minute of the Privy Council of the Dominion, relating to the question of an amnesty for acts committed during the disturbances in the Red River Settlement in 1869-70.

My responsible advisers request me to convey to Your Lordship the desire of the Canadian Government that Her Majesty's Imperial Government should take the circumstances of the case into consideration.

I have, &amp;c.,

(Signed,)

DUFFERIN.

The Right Honorable

The Earl of Kimberley.

&amp;c.,

&amp;c.,

&amp;c.

[For Minute of Privy Council above referred to, see page 110.]

No. 152.

(Copy.)

*The Earl of Kimberley to the Earl of Dufferin.*

DOWNING STREET, 24th July, 1873.

MY LORD,—Her Majesty's Government have given careful consideration to the Minute of the 4th of June, of the Privy Council of the Dominion transmitted in your despatch, No. 144, of the 6th of June, and I have now the honor to acquaint you with their views on the matter submitted to them by the Dominion Government.

In the first place I must briefly refer to that part of the minute in which the Privy Council state their belief that that the power to grant an amnesty rests only with Her Majesty, as Her Majesty's Government are not prepared to assent unreservedly to that opinion.

Two reasons are advanced for this belief—

First, that the occurrences took place before the Hudson's Bay Territory was acquired by the Dominion; and Secondly, that the exercise of the power of pardoning is limited by the Royal instructions to the case of individual criminals after conviction, and that the Governor General does not possess the power of granting a general amnesty before trial.

As to the first point, the facts are, that during the time of the disturbance the territory of Rupert's Land was under the Hudson's Bay Company; that it was under the direct control of the Crown from the 22nd of June, 1870, to the 15th July of the same year, and that since that date it has been under the Dominion Government.

So far then as regards offences committed before the 22nd of June, there is ground for the argument that the offences having been committed before the Canadian Government had control over the Territory, an amnesty should issue directly from Her Majesty.

On the other hand, I am advised that inasmuch as the Canadian Courts had, under the Imperial Act 43, Geo. III, c. 135, as extended by the Act 1 and 2, Geo. IV, c. 66, concurrent jurisdiction with the Courts established by the Hudson's Bay Company, over crimes and offences committed in the territory of the Company, and as the former Courts would have to try Riel or other like offenders if now arrested and brought to Justice, the Governor General could properly issue a Proclamation of amnesty.

And, assuming this to be within the power of the Governor General, no difficulty arises upon the second point referred to by the Privy Council. It is true, that by the Governor General's Commission, the power of pardon vested in him is in terms limited to cases where there has been a conviction, but the question whether a Governor could issue a general amnesty was fully considered in 1871, upon a case raised by the Governor of New Zealand, and in my circular despatch of the 1st of November, 1871, it was stated as the opinion of Her Majesty's Government that if a Governor is authorized by Her Majesty's Government to proclaim a pardon to certain political offenders or rebels, he can do so, and that if he is not instructed from home to grant a pardon, he can issue a Proclamation, as was done in New Zealand in 1865 by Sir George Grey, to the effect that all persons who had borne arms against the Queen should never be prosecuted for past offences, except in certain cases of murder. Such a Proclamation would practically have the same effect as a pardon.

Considering, however, that at the time of the breaking out of these disturbances at the Red River the territory now forming the Province of Manitoba was not under the control of Canada, and that the Dominion Government have formally requested the Imperial Government to deal with the question of the amnesty, Her Majesty's Government are willing to take upon themselves the responsibility of instructing your Lordship as to the terms of the proclamation to be issued; and they are of opinion that the best course would be that, by such proclamation, an amnesty should be granted for all offences committed during the disturbance at Red River in 1869-70, except the murder of Scott.

But as the Dominion Government are now responsible for the affairs of Manitoba—and any decision as to an amnesty must necessarily have an important influence on those affairs—Her Majesty's Government desire, before any instructions are given to your Lordship to this effect, to know whether your Ministers have any objection to the issue of an amnesty limited in the manner proposed.

I have &c.,  
(Signed,)

KIMBERLEY.

Governor General  
The Right Honorable,  
The Earl of Dufferin, K.P., K.C.B.,  
&c., &c., &c.

